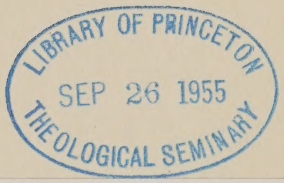
Cardinal Quiroga



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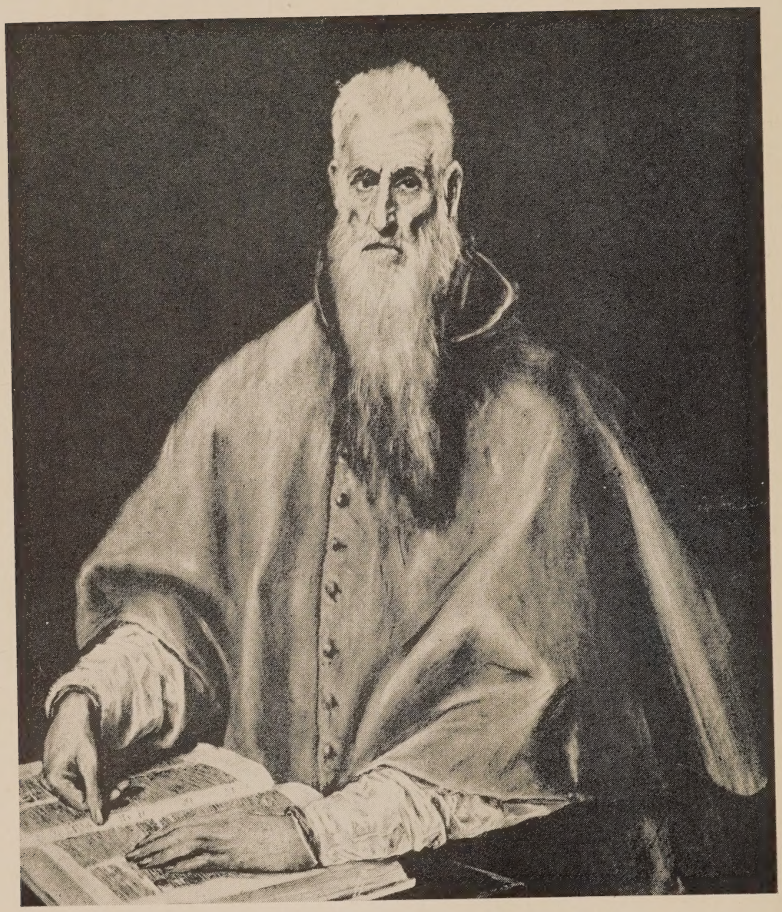
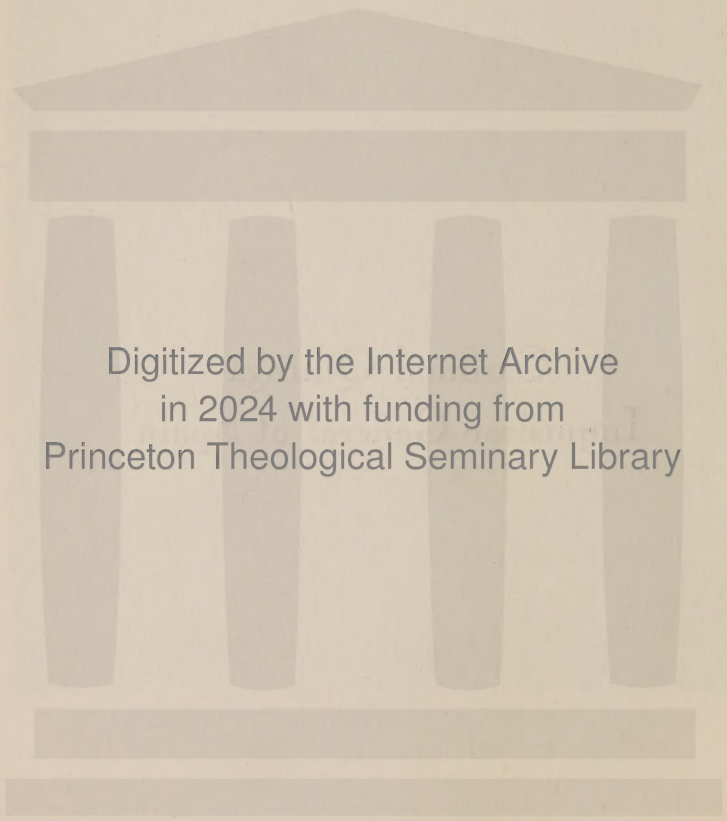


El Greco's painting of Cardinal Quiroga as St. Jerome

Cardinal Quiroga
Inquisitor General of Spain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Cardinal Quiroga
Inquisitor General of Spain

MAURICE BOYD
Department of History
Bradley University

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Maurice Boyd

To My Wife

FOREWORD

In the pages of his book, *El Greco,* which first appeared in 1908, Don Manuel B. Cossio made an observation which only recently has been restated. Cossio[1] pointed out that perhaps the most representative figure in the latter half of the reign of Philip II was Don Gaspar de Quiroga, archbishop of Toledo, primate of Spain, and inquisitor general of the famed Spanish Inquisition. The noted Gregorio Marañón recently reaffirmed this assertion in the first volume of his very excellent work, *Antonio Pérez.*[2] Both authors were well aware that the achievements of this leader of the Spanish Reformation remained to be told.

The stone slab with the epitaph that listed his accomplishments has disappeared from the Augustinian monastery at Madrigal, where he was entombed, but oblivion should not be the fate of this ecclesiastic whose efforts to reform Spanish society through the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish Inquisition have been overlooked in the fanfare of trumpets playing around Philip II. Gaspar de Quiroga is, undoubtedly, one of a brotherhood of significant men of whom history is unmindful. Occasionally some scholar finds that this forgotten man defies the negation with which history dismisses his abject state, and uncovers a scrap of tangible proof that he aspired and achieved. Almost completely ignorant of his early background and personality, one cannot but admire his later efforts with a feeling of frustration; the results are there, but the man eludes us. If Gaspar de Quiroga ever wrote anything besides his official letters and *consultas,* they have long since disappeared. The records of his private life are meager, and it is largely the man in his official capacities that we recapture.

Not until 1572 do the facts, as they have been left to us, gather together in compact form and tell a story. It was in this period fol-

1. Reference is to Don Manuel B. Cossio, *El Greco* (Madrid: V. Suárez, 1908), I.
2. Gregorio Marañón, *Antonio Pérez (el hombre, el drama, la época),* (2nd ed., Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1948), I, 106.

lowing the Council of Trent that Spain turned her attention even more to the grave crisis faced by Catholicism and to the orientation of the movement known as the Catholic Reformation, or Counter-Reformation. The crisis within Spain found expression through the reforms spearheaded by Gaspar de Quiroga, inquisitor general from 1573 to 1594, who was elevated to the position of primate of the Spanish Church in 1577 and was honored with a cardinal's hat by Pope Gregory XIII the following year. Until his death in 1594, he worked unremittingly for a Spain which could boast of religious unity achieved through educational means, in which both monastic contemplation and St. Augustine's teaching on grace could be made acceptable to the Spaniards of the age, all within a framework of a modernized Scholasticism. Intimately connected with these problems arose others: the jurisdictional disputes between Philip II and the papacy, similar disputes between the Inquisition and both the papacy and Philip II, the legality of absolution for newly converted Christians, the apparent impossibility of rapprochement between Spanish Catholicism and variant forms of religion, and reform within the monastic orders in Spain.

On all these subjects opinion within the Spanish Catholic Church was still, at the opening of Philip's seventeenth year of reign, far less stabilized, far less uniform, than is generally supposed. Shaken violently out of its complacency of the 1560's by the rise of Calvinism in the Low Countries and France, by the Morisco uprising in Granada, and by the Turkish threat from the eastern Mediterranean, Spain attempted an independent and rather liberal settlement of her own peculiar religious difficulties. True, there lay behind this attempt a great deal of political expediency, but no little measure of the spirit of the old Cisneros reforms under Ferdinand and Isabella is evident.

The interaction between the course of these events in Spain and the policies and decisions of Gaspar de Quiroga has not received all the attention that its importance demands. This fact serves as a justification for the detailed nature of the latter part of the narrative. In the earlier part, however, such detailed treatment has been neither possible nor desirable, although I am very keenly conscious of the criticism to which a heavily compressed and generalized form of historical writing is exposed.

During most of the period covered by this study, Cardinal Quiroga controlled ecclesiastical affairs without a serious rival, with only the king to approve or disapprove his actions. During all this period ex-

cept the opening year of 1572, he directed the Spanish Inquisition, subject to the contested authority of Philip II and the successive popes. The part he played in working out the various problems referred to above was of no little consequence, and in all of these endeavors his initiative is revealed. The period was one marked by restlessness and excitement. Great changes were in the air. A strong, united, and reconditioned Spanish Church at the head of Christendom was the hope envisaged, conjured up in all piety and seriousness. If the reforms were never so thoroughgoing as anticipated, if they often resulted in wasted energy, controversy, compromise, or various degrees of failure, it is but to be remembered that such has been the experience of mankind innumerable times before and since.

It is impossible to acknowledge my indebtedness to all those who have enabled me to write this book. Among the many teachers and colleagues at the University of Michigan to whom I am grateful for assistance of various kinds, I must mention Professors Irving Leonard, Albert Hyma, A. E. R. Boak, and especially Federico Sánchez y Escribano, who read the entire manuscript and made many valuable suggestions. I wish to thank Father John Francis Bannon, S.J., of Saint Louis University for his scholarly criticism, and Dean Olive B. White of Bradley University for her stylistic suggestions. The errors and other weaknesses which persist in spite of their assistance are my own.

I also wish to express my thanks to Rev. George A. Carton of the Peoria diocese, and to the Board of Trustees of Bradley University for their special encouragement in the publication of this work.

Bradley University
Peoria, Illinois — Maurice Boyd
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PART ONE

THE FORMATIVE YEARS

I

THE EARLY LIFE OF GASPAR DE QUIROGA

Madrigal de las Altas Torres

. . . . . .

On the highway leading northwest from Madrid to Medina del Campo in central Spain, a tributary road bends from the main artery at Arévalo and winds through the town of Castellas to Madrigal de las Altas Torres. Two small streams, the Zapardiel and the Trabancos, furnish a picturesque setting for Madrigal in this grazing and agricultural plain of northern Castile.

In the sixteenth century, Madrigal de las Altas Torres stood as a reminder of the Christian reconquest of Spain. The great castles with their high towers, constructed as frontier bastions for the Christians who had slowly recovered the peninsula from the Moors, supplied the town with a portion of its name.[1] The town formed part of the episcopal see of Avila and was long famous for its connections with royalty. John II of Castile and Isabel of Portugal were married there in 1447 and lived in one of the huge castles within the

walls of the town. Isabel, the Catholic queen, was born there in 1451. With such a worthy heritage, the inhabitants of Madrigal could be and were devoted to their native town quite as much as Spaniards from Toledo, Valencia, or Barcelona were attached to their residential areas.[2]

One family with such an attachment was the Quiroga family.[3] Don Alvaro Quiroga was a descendant of an illustrious family which had once resided in Galicia.[4] He married Elena Vela, a woman of unknown background.[5] In spite of his *hidalguía*, the dignity of the lowest order of Spanish nobility, Don Alvaro was a poor man. Only two sons, Rodrigo and Gaspar, are known to have blessed this union.[6]

The younger son, Gaspar de Quiroga, was born Tuesday, January 13, 1512, in Madrigal.[7] The first few years of his life were spent in his native town, and undoubtedly he attended the church of San Nicholás, where Isabel the Catholic was baptized. This church, facing the beautiful town plaza, contained the arresting statue called *La Virgen de la Piedad* (The Virgin of Piety), and images representing Faith and Charity. Not far from the plaza stood the ancient Augustinian convent with Gothic adornments which Queen María of Aragon had utilized in 1443 as a hospital for the reception of the sick and care of the poor. This heritage of exemplary Christian traditions and expressions at Madrigal was later reflected in Gaspar's actions as an ecclesiastic and king's appointee.

School Days

College of Oviedo at Salamanca.—Quiroga left his home in 1531, arriving penniless at nearby Salamanca to live at the *Colegio Mayor de San Salvador de Oviedo*.[8] Salamanca University, a royal creation as were most of the Spanish universities, had been recognized as one of the greatest in Europe—as the representative university of Spain—by Boniface VIII with a special papal bull in 1298. Since the Council of Vienne, 1311-12, it had been one of the five universities in which professors of oriental languages were teaching.[9] By the time Gaspar de Quiroga came to the city, the university was one of the largest in Europe with matriculation rolls listing thousands of boys who could offer proof of Christian descent for four generations.[10]

Salamanca had been late in acquiring dormitories, or colleges. The small College of Oviedo attended by Quiroga is said to have been founded in 1386 by Guterius, bishop of that see, for six poor stu-

dents in canon law. However true that may be, nothing is known of it until 1517, the date it was opened.[11] The college was not so richly endowed as were the other colleges and was not listed among the four greater colleges of Salamanca. Both the College of Oviedo and the University of Salamanca retained something of the tradition of the Middle Ages, which had been handed down by the Arabic scholars of Córdoba and Toledo, and, though clinging to scholasticism, had early welcomed the new learning.[12]

Under these liberal, stimulating conditions the poverty of Gaspar was somewhat eased by his rapid adaptation to the student life. He displayed sufficient brilliance to receive a scholarship from funds provided for deserving students.[13] The value of religion and knowledge of the seven liberal arts were emphasized at Salamanca, thereby enabling future ecclesiastics to understand canon law, the Scriptures, the Fathers, and other ecclesiastical writings. As for opposition to Protestantism, it was to Salamanca almost alone among the greater universities of Christendom that the pope could look for champions of the pure Catholic faith. At the same time, it was to the credit of Salamanca that her doctors had encouraged the then almost unorthodox beliefs of Columbus[14] and that the Copernican system had found early acceptance in its lecture rooms.[15] For five years young Quiroga remained at Salamanca partaking of the humanistic fervor of the late Spanish renaissance.[16]

College of Santa Cruz at Valladolid.—On July 25, 1536, Gaspar rather unexpectedly matriculated in the College of Santa Cruz de Valladolid.[17] Why he preferred to earn a degree at Valladolid instead of Salamanca is not clear; it may plausibly be conjectured that economy was his motive, for it was a more expensive business to obtain degrees at Salamanca.[18] As to prestige, the degrees conferred by the University of Valladolid were given the same status as those of Salamanca or Bologna, thus providing a passport to ecclesiastical and royal appointments. Quiroga knew, as did many others, that the possibilities for success and security in Spain for men born in obscurity or poverty lay along this path.[19]

The University of Valladolid, even in its earliest days, had been something more than a local cathedral school.[20] A bishop who died in 1300 is said to have studied at Salamanca and Valladolid as if they were *studia* (universities) of the same rank,[21] and there is little doubt that by the fourteenth century Valladolid was held in Spain to

be a *studium generale.*[22] Originally the term *studium generale,* not *universitas,* most nearly corresponded to the modern notion of a university; the *studium generale* was not a place where all subjects were taught, but a place where students from all parts were received. The term apparently implied that it attracted students from all parts, and not just from the immediate district; that it was a place of higher education, at least in one of the higher faculties (theology or law, for example); and that the subjects were taught by at least several masters.

The highly esteemed and somewhat privileged Greater College of Santa Cruz of Valladolid formed one of the principal elements of this university. Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo, founded it in 1484.[23] The number of *Colegiales,* or members, at the College of Santa Cruz always remained low, and it was only by virtue of his excellent record that Gaspar was accepted.[24] Few details of his stay there are known. The chroniclers gloze over these years by saying that he distinguished himself by his fine scholarship and humanistic zeal.[25]

In 1537 he received the degree of Licentiate in Canon Law, and he graduated from Valladolid on April 13, 1538, with a Doctorate of Canon Law.[26] Somewhat belatedly, in 1640, the College of Santa Cruz publicly recognized him as its most successful and distinguished graduate in the first century and a half of its existence.[27]

II

INITIATION INTO ADMINISTRATIVE LIFE

Vicar of Alcalá: Roman Entanglements

. . . . . .

For several years prior to Gaspar's graduation his older brother, Rodrigo, had been employed as treasurer to Don Juan de Tavera, archbishop of Toledo. The efficiency with which Rodrigo managed the multifarious duties of his office caused Cardinal Tavera to esteem his secretary highly, both as an employee and as an individual. In 1540,[1] two years after Gaspar's graduation, Rodrigo's direct solicitation induced Tavera to provide Gaspar with the vicarate of Alcalá, a fine position for a young man only beginning his professional career. As vicar general of Alcalá he exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction and transacted ecclesiastical affairs as a substitute for the archbishop. In accordance with the custom in Alcalá at that time, he was jointly vicar general in the spiritual and temporal realms. As *vicario general* he should be distinguished from the *vicario pedáneo,* a person who had authority over a district only.[2]

This change of residence was a fortunate one for Gaspar de Quiroga, since it meant that his legal talents could be exercised and nurtured in the metropolitan atmosphere of a city with more than mere pretensions to culture. From the date of its founding, approximately thirty-five years earlier, Alcalá's university had been known as the great center for humanism in Spain, boasting the memory of such learned professors as the philologist, Antonio de Lebrija; the Greek scholar, Demetrius Ducas of Crete; Nuñez de Gúzman; and Diego López de Zúñiga, commonly known as Stuñica.[3] Furthermore, the city contained other institutions such as monasteries and convents, outside the framework of the university, which benefited from the convenience of instruction.[4]

The environment of this outstanding religious and cultural center stimulated Gaspar de Quiroga. His earnest desire to extend the program of religious education to more of the population brought him, in 1543, the added duty of *Maestrescuela,* a dignity which placed him in charge of supervising and teaching theology in the cathedral church of Alcalá. His enthusiasm for this type of instruction resulted in a personality conflict with a papal representative which served inadvertently to further his career.

The very heated controversy developed over the type and method of religious instruction at the Collegiate Church at Alcalá. Royal authorities never questioned the instruction imparted by Quiroga, but for some unknown reason the papal authorities objected to it. During the protracted quarrel, Quiroga heard that some of the authority usually delegated to the king was being withdrawn by action of the pope. Then Gaspar, still young and uninitiated in the machinations of policy-making on a high level, acted indiscreetly. Knowing that the pope's delegate held some apostolic letters which were prejudicial both to the delegated powers of the king and to those he himself was exercising, Quiroga demanded to see them. Upon being refused, he impetuously snatched them from the hands of the delegate, tore them open, and later destroyed them. In retaliation, the pope ordered Quiroga to come to Rome.[5]

Under normal circumstances this incident would have disgraced Quiroga, especially since the royal authorities made no move to protect him. Fortunately, immediately upon arriving in Rome, he found a post in the service of a cardinal in the Roman Curia. With the cardinal's assistance, Quiroga was able to go to confession to the pope himself, and soon afterwards returned to Spain.[6]

During his absence in Rome, conditions had drastically changed at home. In the late summer of 1543, Emperor Charles V had made his son, Philip, regent of Spain. More important to Quiroga, his benefactor, Cardinal Tavera, was now the chief adviser of young Philip.[7] Spanish regal policies and papal policies were clashing,[8] and the letter-destroying episode proved a boon to Gaspar's career. In fact, the affair gave rise to an anecdote which caught the popular fancy throughout Spain.

According to the usual account, Quiroga tricked Pope Paul III into hearing his confession. While Quiroga related his deed, so the story goes, the pope asked him if he was not Quiroga. Gaspar is said to have replied so cleverly and evasively that the pope absolved him without knowing who he actually was. Thus the joke of the deception of the pope by Quiroga came to be told throughout Spain.[9]

The veracity of the story may well be questioned since Catholic confessional procedure would hardly permit the account to be considered seriously as it stands. But the regal attitude highlighted by this anecdote, erroneous or not, elevated Quiroga to fame. Francisco de Pisa, Quiroga's close friend, blandly states that it proved to be the occasion of his rise and growth, God having so ordered it.[10] The responsibility of Quiroga in the circulation of this tale cannot be determined. One can hardly doubt, however, that the original telling came from his own lips in one form or another. During this early period of his life Gaspar frequently displayed a certain ungentlemanly coarseness, and, in spite of his obvious earnestness and sincerity in the matters of administration of justice or education of youth, his friends did not entirely overlook this trait.[11] But it must be said, to his credit, that he himself never obviously attempted to capitalize upon the story. The constant application of the young administrator to his duties as vicar won him his next promotion.[12] The fame of his rectitude, justice, and talents had spread beyond Alcalá, impressing Cardinal Tavera to the extent that he provided Quiroga with the canonry at Toledo on July 12, 1545.[13]

Canon at Toledo

The duties of the canons at Toledo entailed being the principal assistants of the archbishop, disseminating the orders of the archbishop, and seeing that they were obeyed. At Toledo, as elsewhere, the importance of a particular canon was proportionate to the favor he held in the eyes of the archbishop. Considering this, things looked

bright for Gaspar until Cardinal Tavera suddenly died, August 1, 1545, less than two months after the appointment.[14]

The new archbishop of Toledo was Cardinal Juan Martínez Siliceo, a long-time tutor of the young regent, Philip. Neither Siliceo nor Quiroga ever had occasion to know the other prior to this date, and their relationship was apparently only a formal one. As for Gaspar, he was still a young man, little known, enjoying only a small income. His office gave him a certain rank; yet he was an unimportant person among great officials, wealthy nobles, and favored courtiers. In such circumstances Quiroga was not the man to procrastinate. He soon familiarized himself with the administration of the cathedral church, the leading one in the Spanish empire, and combined energy with sound judgment to earn Siliceo's respect for his abilities. This first manifested itself when the archbishop, utilizing the past legal education and experience of the canon, added the vicar-generalship of Toledo to Quiroga's duties. Soon afterwards, in 1548, he entrusted his deputy with the problem of enforcing the controversial *Estatutos de Nobleza,* or Statutes of Nobility.[15]

These statutes, promulgated first in Toledo and afterwards adopted by most of the other cathedrals in Spain,[16] required proofs of nobility and purity of blood before candidates could obtain admission to the offices of canonry, prebend, and certain other positions connected with the cathedral of Toledo.[17] While the general ecclesiastical purpose was to insure the safety of the Spanish Church by appointing only tried and true Spanish Catholics, the Toledan statute had its small and miserable side, too. Political interests in appointments were automatically concerned, and the statutes struck at the honor and dignity of many powerful Toledan families.[18] In spite of papal[19] and royal[20] approval, the ecclesiastical commission and the town nobility were divided on the subject. Once again the ever-present jealousy of noble versus noble presented itself. Those families with unimpeachable proof of a long Castilian lineage free of Moorish or Jewish blood saw an opportunity to discredit their opponents and seize control of the ecclesiastical positions in the principal Spanish cathedral.

The adoption of the Statutes of Nobility by other cathedrals in the realm and the consequences of the action could have thrown the countryside into a battleground for warring factions. In Córdoba the old rivalry of the Marquises Comares and Priego was still remembered.[21] Seville harbored the ancient animosities of the houses of

Arcos and Medina-Sidonia, which ranged from resentful rivalry concerning social leadership to the disputed possession of the title of the vast duchy of Medina-Sidonia held by the Guzmáns.[22]

At court the Silva family was allied politically, but not too securely, with the powerful house of Mendoza. This latter house comprised twenty-two heads of families who formed the most imposing aggregation of high ranking nobles in the realm. More solidly aligned to the Silvas were the Fajardos and the Córdobas. As a counterpoise to them the Duke of Alva could list the houses of the Zapatas, his own Álvarez de Toledo house, and the multitude of caballeros and hidalgos who hoped to win fame and fortune under his military banner. A weaker faction comprising the houses of Ayala, Manrique, and Guzmán exerted little pressure at court.[23]

Toledo, the metropolitan city of Spain, was bitterly divided on the issue. The leader of one faction was the Count of Fuensalida, *alguacil mayor* of Toledo and head of the house of Ayala. Most important in his following was the family of Avalos, which furnished an hereditary *regidor,* or councillor, to the town council. The head of the opposite, or Ribera, faction was the Marquis of Montemayor, warden of the Alcazar. He was a close adherent of the Mendozas and numbered among his followers the Silva family, including the influential Count of Cifuentes.

Amidst such rivalry, the very distinct possibility existed that one faction might gain control of, or be favored by, the administration of the Statutes of Nobility and exclude the other side from all ecclesiastical and social preferment. Under such circumstances the unfavored faction might not have maintained its civil obedience. The controversy concerning the application of the statutes grew serious, and lines were forming along the ancient pattern: the Silvas, Mendozas, and Arcos closed ranks with the Duke of Alva's adherents and the Zapatas to comprise the *lindos,* or pure Christians, while the Ayalas, Manriques, Avalos, and Guzmáns formed the group tinged with possible Jewish heritage.[24]

At this juncture, as previously stated, Siliceo intrusted Gaspar with the unenviable job of administering the statutes. Quiroga had accepted the introduction of the statutes of *limpieza,* or purity of blood, for the ecclesiastical purpose involved; on the other hand, there was enough reservation in the tenor of his letter of acceptance to indicate a middle-of-the-road policy.[25] A civil war might well have resulted if Quiroga had adopted any other method in this test case. Seeing only

one possible solution, he established the statutes without modification, but he never seriously questioned the genealogical tables of the important nobility. Thus the crisis was turned aside.[26]

The particular emphasis upon the statutes at this time indicates that the ancient dignity and prestige of the Castilian nobility had suffered a decline during the first half of the century. If Siliceo's plan had not been complicated by the internecine strife of the nobility, a surprising social change might have been carried out. Cardinal Siliceo personally hoped to reduce the number of eligible nobility, thus opening the way to ecclesiastical preferment for those who, like himself, were of old Christian ancestry lacking noble blood. With so many cross currents involved in this matter, one might well doubt that Quiroga could perform such a duty and still preserve his professional reputation. But such was the moderating ability of the man.

The *Sacra Rota Romana*

Philip, in May, 1554, found himself in another predicament. Siliceo's anti-Jesuit program was tantalizing Roman ecclesiastics.[27] A new pope, Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, was elected on May 23 and took the title of Paul IV. Caraffa was not only a determined reformer, he was also, most unfortunately for Philip, a staunch opponent of the house of Hapsburg. Paul was plainly going to lend his heartiest support to the French, particularly in Italy, where he was hemmed in by Hapsburg foes. He held little regard for the English ecclesiastic, Cardinal Pole, and intended to undermine the advantages of the marriage of Philip and Mary Tudor.[28] To deal with the pope, Philip sought a man who possessed training in canon law, administrative acumen, and a blend of moderating ability with dynastic loyalty. He chose Gaspar de Quiroga.

Philip sent Quiroga to Rome to occupy officially one of the two Spanish seats in the *Sacra Rota Romana,* the highest ecclesiastic tribunal established by the papacy in all the Catholic world.[29] Quiroga assisted in the business of this tribunal during the most critical four years in the relationship of Philip and Paul IV.[30] So pleased was the octogenarian pope with Quiroga that he bestowed upon him the deanship of León and several other lesser benefices, including those of Valdardchas and St. Thomas of Toledo. This association at Rome thoroughly imbued Quiroga with a respect for tradition and ultimate papal supremacy. Neither verbal utterances nor correspondence written or instigated by Quiroga after this date ever questioned papal spiritual authority.

Italo-Spanish Duties

The king's confidence went a step farther when, in 1558, he designated Gaspar to conduct a *visita* (inspection) of the seriously relaxed monasteries of Naples and Sicily.[31] To increase his prestige and authority over the recalcitrant institutions, Philip made him a member of the Royal Council of Castile.[32] After four years the work was sufficiently completed, and the industrious ecclesiastic returned to Spain in the late summer of 1562 on the same ship that carried the Archdukes Rudolph and Ernest, sons of the Emperor Maximilian II.[33]

The chronology of the next eight years of Quiroga's life is vague and uncertain, especially when compared to the exactness with which the events in his life after 1570 can be fixed. Almost nothing is known of his actual whereabouts or of his movements and activities between the time he sailed from Italy until he met the king in 1570. He was not inactive, however. A few scattered letters indicate he stayed near the court, serving on the Royal Council of Castile. This Royal Council was composed of trusted members of the king's bureaucracy. Each appointee served as the head of one or more of the various branches of the governmental organization, possessing the decision in all matters of government, subject to the king. The council, largely recruited from professional jurists at this time, had definite jurisdiction. During the king's absence it transacted on its own authority the affairs falling within its jurisdiction.[34] Besides his responsibilities in this capacity, Quiroga was constantly burdened with other pressing duties of the moment.

In 1565 Philip nominated and the pope confirmed Quiroga as bishop of the Canaries.[35] No records show that he was able to spend any time there. In the following year he was made *visitador* (inspector) of the *Cruzada,* a subsidy which the papacy had earlier granted to Philip to enable the Spanish church to enjoy some of its own revenues. The Turkish threat in the Mediterranean requiring Spanish troops was no small factor in convincing the pope of the necessity of the continuance of this subsidy to Spain.[36] For Philip, this source of revenue amounted to 600,000 ducats a year, far too important an income to permit any sizable corruption in the administration of its collection.[37]

After discharging this duty in 1567, Gaspar became president of the Council of Italy,[38] actually an organ of the Spanish government since its creation in 1555. The functions of the council were to direct the government of the Spanish Italian possessions of Sicily, Sardinia,

and Naples; to provide food, pay, and quarters for the soldiers stationed there;[39] to provide offices of justice for the cities; and to grant titles to magnates, all with royal approval.[40] It was the royal intention to Castilianize these areas through this council. The changes were to be carried out in a slow, peaceful, penetrating way under a long-range program.[41] The court faction led by Ruy Gómez and his underling, the youthful Antonio Pérez, helped Quiroga in his policy.[42] To improve papal relations, Don Juan de Zúñiga, a friend of the family of Ruy Gómez, was made papal ambassador for Spain.[43]

The ability and energy displayed by Gómez and Pérez in Italian affairs won Quiroga's lifelong admiration. Good companionship, nevertheless, could not hide the fact from Quiroga that the Italian problem contained hopelessly complicated factors. Philip II, as king of Aragon, had inherited the Italian lands of Sicily, Sardinia, and the kingdom of Naples. In the latter area Philip reigned as a vassal of the Holy See, an arrangement which enabled the papacy to prevent the establishment there of the Spanish Inquisition. The same papal resistance existed in the duchy of Milan, an area securely added to the Spanish possessions only a few decades earlier.[44]

Sicily was a separate problem. The two higher courts, the Great Court and the Court of Conscience, were composed of magistrates removable at will; but there were also officials nominated for life and therefore in a large measure independent. Opposition to royal authority was not concentrated in the parliament. Rather, it was encountered in the privileges exercised by the towns; it was felt in the constant resistance of the barons; it was harbored in the mischievous agitations of life magistrates, and in the anarchical spirit of a populace torn by faction.[45] In 1571, royal revenues from this island were extremely low. The viceroy of Spain, the Marquis of Pescara, was at his wit's end. The strong Sicilian opposition to him had placed him in such a bad light in Madrid by denunciations of all kinds that his recall or dismissal appeared likely.[46] Only the Church offered a counterpoise. Philip, by virtue of ancient rights, was the natural legate of the pope here, and, despite the attempts of Pope Pius V to nullify these prerogatives during his pontificate from 1566 to 1572, Philip reaffirmed his rights to a body of privileges called *Monarchia Sicula.*[47]

Pius V, by republishing the ancient bull *In Coena Domini* in a skillfully altered form, took further steps to emancipate ecclesiastical authority from secular control all over the world, especially in finan-

cial matters. This act affected all the Spanish dominions, but it was particularly aimed at Naples and Sicily, where the papal pretensions were greater than elsewhere.[48] The results which the pope desired to accomplish were seriously limited by Philip's refusal to comply with the legal intent of the bull.[49]

Quiroga, as president of the Council of Italy, felt hopelessly trapped by conflicting religious and political interests. Any sincere attempt to correct the clerical corruption threatened to weaken Philip's strongest support against the papacy. Furthermore, papal litigation, people proud of their liberties, nobles and towns zealously maintaining ancient privileges, and the use of deceit and corruption by viceroys rendered any immediate hope of agreement impossible.[50]

In the midst of these very disappointing conditions, Quiroga turned to the attractive elements in his early Augustinian training. He yearned for a religious life with time for contemplation. He was nearing sixty years of age and had served the people and his king well. This marked one of the two occasions in his life when he was confronted with the apparent choice between an official and a religious life. On each occasion his free choice was the religious life, and this sufficiently shows his mature orientation. In this first instance there were no external influences which forced him to do violence to his inclination.

Before permitting Quiroga to sever himself completely from secular affairs, Philip stipulated that the faithful administrator should accompany him in an advisory capacity during his journey into Andalusia in 1570. The Christianized Moors, called Moriscos, had been in open rebellion there for two years, defying royal authorities. Inquisitor General Diego de Espinosa had provided the explosive spark in 1567 by publishing an edict against the Moriscos which contradicted all the principles of discretion and statesmanship.[51] The decree stated that the Moriscos would be required to abandon their native costumes; give up their methods of bathing; renounce their language, customs, and ceremonies; and adopt Christian names. Espinosa believed that the Moriscos still practiced Islam clandestinely, and that some entered into treasonable relations with Spanish enemies. His decree was designed to denationalize the Moriscos and make them Spanish Catholics. He started by removing the beautiful Alhambra baths, and the enraged Moriscos decided the stage was set for war. The restrictions imposed upon them thus led directly to the

bloody Morisco rebellion in the Alpujarras of Granada, lasting from 1568 to the first weeks of 1571.[52]

Neither side gave any quarter, and what Philip and Quiroga saw in terms of Morisco violence and brutality did not induce them to practice leniency. The ultimate defeat of the Moriscos resulted in their deportation inland and distribution throughout the countryside of northern and eastern Spain. That they were unwanted guests in the communities where they were quartered is evident from all the contemporary records.[53] By October 6, 1572, an elaborate *pragmática* was drawn up, regulating the conditions under which they were to live; furthermore, all of the restrictions of the edict of 1567 were declared fully in force. The task of assimilating the deportees so they would be good Christians and good Spaniards remained to be done.[54] In the meantime Quiroga prepared himself for a purely ecclesiastical life.

The aging administrator began by resigning all of his secular offices, including the presidency of the Council of Italy; he transferred control of all the benefices which he had received from Rome to his nephews and servants. He relinquished the far-away Canary bishopric, and was almost immediately presented with one in Spain. Fray Bernardo de Fresnado was leaving the bishopric of Cuenca after a ten-year stay, and Philip nominated Quiroga for the position. Pius V officially appointed him on December 17, 1571, and he took possession of it through a delegate on Janary 19, 1572. No one less than Cardinal Diego de Espinosa, bishop of Segovia and inquisitor general of the Inquisition, consecrated him in the cathedral of Santa Maria at Madrid. Determined to serve his diocese conscientiously, Quiroga personally assumed charge of his church at Cuenca on June 16, 1572, taking over from his delegate, Dr. Matriz, an inquisitor of Cuenca.[55]

PART TWO

THE RELIGIOUS POLICIES OF QUIROGA

III

BISHOP OF CUENCA

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The bishopric of Cuenca lay almost immediately west of Madrid, occupying the area between the capital and the eastern coastal territory of Valencia. Its location suggests that Philip chose to nominate Quiroga to this particular bishopric for a special reason. The Moriscos were heavily distributed in Valencia and Murcia after the suppression of the recent revolt. It could be foreseen that serious problems might develop in this general area, and the presence of Quiroga to observe and gain first-hand knowledge of the developments might soon prove of inestimable value. His appointment a year later as inquisitor general adds more credence to this hypothesis, especially since the Morisco problem was the first with which he dealt.

The mountainous district took its name from Cuenca, a Moorish city located on a peak about half-way between Madrid and Valencia at the confluence of the Júcar and Huéscar rivers. For the ecclesi-

astic seeking peace and solitude, the sight of the Huéscar trickling down through the defile spanned by the bridge of San Pablo until it merged with the winding Júcar must have been most inviting. The pyramidal eagle's nest town with its walls, towers, and houses hanging over the barren rock precipices enhanced the charm of the fertile valleys below. From the first small hut on the suburb the town rose in terraces, tier above tier, roof above roof, to the plaza and cathedral which occupied almost the only level space. The streets leading upward were steep, tortuous, and narrow.

The city and its environs were densely populated in the sixteenth century with busy, prosperous wool traders. The new Moriscos immediately engaged in this business, thereby further contributing to the activity and prosperity of the district.[1] Great noble families were numerous in the area, the most powerful being that of the Marqués de Cañete, a branch of the Mendozas.[2] Interest in literature and the arts was high. The Gothic cathedral, the classical *retablo* of the high altar, the splendid *reja* and the eagle lectern of the master Hernando de Arenes, the plateresque *Capilla de los Apóstoles,* the much-venerated image of *La Virgen de la Salud,* and the richly decorated *Capilla de San Martín* near the gate to the bishop's palace were but a few of the cultural treasures of the city.

Educational Reform and Charity

In the cultural and intellectual surroundings at Cuenca, Quiroga introduced a religious program which included the extension of learning, charity to the poor, reform within the church, and patronage of the arts for religious glorification. Practical steps to put the program into operation began immediately after his entry into the cathedral church at Cuenca, June 16, 1572. In furtherance of his plans, he developed a close working agreement with two orders, the Augustinians and the Jesuits. Since the latter were more numerous and energetic in the vicinity at this time, they progressively shared more in the operations; but then, as always, Quiroga remained particularly partial to the Augustinians.[3]

The bishop began by setting a careful example himself. The townspeople observed that he ate moderately, never drank wine, and always had the Bible read while at the table. In the general government of the diocese his reputation for exactness and justice became legendary. He severely punished the turbulent and dishonest elements, but displayed paternal mildness and gentleness of temper

toward those formerly incorrigible members of the community who sincerely repented.[4]

Quiroga highly esteemed the edifying and educational influence of the monasteries in his district. These institutions had produced many men of letters imbued with the saintliness of Catholic Christian virtues. Quiroga's own education apparently had impressed upon him the value of sound, thorough instruction as a way to synthesize knowledge and achieve unity of thought. The necessity of extending such instruction became increasingly more apparent as the *alumbrados* and the Moriscos continued to exist as unassimilated elements in the religious society of Spain.

The rather mysterious sect of *alumbrados,* or illuminists, was probably purely Spanish in origin, a conclusion consonant with the peculiar mystical character of the creed. Certainly it antedated the Lutheran outbreak, since it existed as early as 1512. Many of Luther's doctrines were part of its creed, and it had served to pave the way for the entry of Protestantism into Spain. The tenets of the sect were the abdication of one's own will in that of the divine and the ability of the faithful to put themselves in personal communication with the divine essence through ecstasy, on which occasions they believed themselves incapable of committing sin. At times the apparent result of these beliefs was an indulgence in all manner of licentious practices while in the ecstatic state. The devotees were usually nuns and members of the clergy, especially friars.[5]

The bishop subsidized his religious unity program by providing money from his rents, thus enabling the monasteries to care for and to educate a greater number of deserving boys of poor parentage.[6] Through the aid of the Jesuits, women's convents were further enlarged to provide similar training for orphaned girls and penniless young women. The greatest benefit to the people of the diocese was Quiroga's generous aid to the poor.[7] That such attention was so pronounced is another indication of the increasing poverty of the lower elements of society in Spain at this time.[8] On one occasion, shortly after his arrival at Cuenca, he distributed two thousand ducats to the most needy. Such generosity undoubtedly served to win the confidence of the people in their new bishop, and the scale of his benefactions was unheard of in Cuenca. This action was not merely the usual move of a shrewd politician. A thorough report on the exact conditions of the needy in each parish was supplied to him by the priests of the diocese, and assistance was continually provided for

each family according to its needs. Each Christmas the priests were directed to distribute twelve *reales* to the homes of the needy within their jurisdiction. From time to time Quiroga liberally aided individuals upon receipt of personal reports concerning their respectability and the amount of aid needed; such reports were supplied by the Jesuits, and in turn assistance was rendered through them. It was not rare for him to bestow dowries upon poor young women, thus enabling them to marry in a respectable fashion. Throughout Cuenca he became so beloved and esteemed that he was compared with the first bishop of the area, the venerated and somewhat legendary San Julian of the fifth century, who had also extended assistance when needed and deserved.[9]

Ecclesiastical Reform and Patronage

In 1574 Quiroga attempted to improve church government and establish conformity in ecclesiastical matters by convoking a synod in his diocese. Throughout the meetings those assembled were impressed with the excellent proposals of Quiroga which were designed to further the honor and glory of God. With little debate his recommendations were voted upon. By this action of the synod he limited the number of fiesta days; furthermore, the impoverished city officials were no longer required to bear the cost of entertainment on the occasions when fiestas were held. Gambling, dances, and amusements of an obscene nature were banned. Instead, the positive recommendations included stricter attention to church duties and administration of the sacraments by the priests, and more constant church attendance by the parishioners. The practice of some people to worship in groups independent of church supervision was strictly forbidden.[10] Although outlawed sects could not be mentioned by name in writing, this last provision undoubtedly was aimed at the *alumbrados.*

To assist the clergy in their emphasis upon Church and clerical affairs, Quiroga furthered the veneration of relics and the glorification of the Church by a patronage of the arts. The cathedral church reportedly displayed an extensive number of relics: the head of one of the 11,000 virgins; a piece of the silver plate once belonging to John the Baptist; a thorn from the crown of Christ; relics from the bodies of St. Bartholomew and St. Gregory; a stone from the manger where Christ was born; a piece of wood cut from the tree which had furnished Moses' rod on Mount Sinai, and numerous others. To

house some of these relics, Quiroga rushed to completion a magnificent *custodia* (tabernacle) begun by Diego Ramírez in 1528.[11] Next he commissioned the renowned sculptor-silversmith Cristóbal Becerril to construct an elaborate processional shrine for the cathedral. The results so pleased Quiroga that he had Becerril build a *custodia* for the parish church of San Juan at Alarcón. This *custodia,* now in the collection of the Hispanic Society of America, shows the armorial bearings of Quiroga at the base of the first tier. This ornament uses the Corinthian and Ionic orders for the first two tiers, with a domical treatment for the third. The finely modeled statues of the Evangelists in the upper section and the embossings of angels and allegorical figures in the spandrels of the arches of the first story gain prominence by being in silver gilt placed against backgrounds of silver; thus a contrast of metals is presented, which adds richness to the appearance of the object.[12] Judging from this item, one is inclined to agree with the Venetian ambassador, Francisco Soranzo, that Quiroga never stinted in patronizing the arts.[13]

Among the inhabitants of this mountainous Castilian area, these policies of Quiroga won widespread approval. The poorer people, especially, began to regard him as a protective and guiding father.[14] It was with heartfelt sorrow that the people of the bishopric of Cuenca witnessed the departure in 1577 of this kindly old gentleman with the narrow, pensive face and sad, introspective eyes who became the archbishop of Toledo, primate of the Spains.[15]

IV

ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO: ARCHDIOCESAN REFORM

The city of Toledo had been the capital of Spain during the days of the Visigoths. Under Moorish domination it lost much of its importance, but Alfonso VI, who recaptured it from the Moors in 1085, restored its influence and power. He annexed to the see of Toledo large tracts of land which, with later additions, gave it at the time of Quiroga's appointment economic pre-eminence over every see in Christendom except Rome itself.[1]

In fact, so rich were the revenues that the pope and Philip II quarreled over them for seventeen years—the length of the period during which the case of the previous archbishop of Toledo, Carranza, remained unsettled. The total income came to approximately 200,000 ducats a year,[2] easily making the holder of it one of the richest ecclesiastics in Europe.[3] The wealth represented not only the tithes, but also the products of the lands annexed to the see. The rents were

often paid in wheat, wines, woven cloth, and other goods. Any security based upon the revenues of this see was considered by Italian merchants to be the best in Spain.[4] Philip, having established the precedent of collecting and using the revenues for his own needs, now consented to relinquish all the income to the next archbishop. No doubt he seriously needed the revenues, for he had only recently suspended all interest on state debts[5] and appealed to the Cortes for an increase in the *encabezamiento,* or head tax.[6] These two drastic measures marked the beginning of the economic weakness so evident during the latter half of the reign of Philip II. Under such conditions it would have been unnatural for a king to yield these revenues in the ordinary course of conduct; yet, when Philip turned over this great charge to the next man of his choice, the office was not encumbered with any regal control of finances. The explanation for this course of conduct by the king rested, at least in part, upon his confidence in the man he had picked for the position.

Philip had been impressed with the popular reception and the high level of conduct of Quiroga's policies in Cuenca.[7] He reasoned that what had been demonstrably successful in the mountainous area of eastern Castile might well succeed throughout the rest of his domain, subject to the local limitations of the diverse areas. Determined to put the plan into more widespread operation, Philip met with the Council of State after Archbishop Carranza's death on May 2, 1576. They decided that the king should consult with Quiroga about the vacancy, and as early as July 12 the two men met and held preliminary discussions.[8]

The appointment, however, was far from settled. Quiroga must have clearly seen that the political demands of the office would destroy the serene religious life he had chosen five years earlier. For the second time in his later life he again preferred to avoid high office of state. The bishop offered reasons to Philip why he should not accept the position, begging the king to offer it to the exemplary archbishop of Santiago, Dr. Francisco Blanco. This latter ecclesiastic, with a widespread reputation for piety, learning, governing, and almsgiving, was one of the foremost religious leaders in Spain.[9]

Under ordinary circumstances Francisco Blanco would have been a most logical choice, but the times were neither ordinary nor propitious. Philip only partially revealed his intentions in a letter to his sister, the Empress of Austria, wherein he informed her that he

would appoint as primate of Spain an elderly man. He explained that such an arrangement would enable her son, the Archduke Albert, to succeed to the position in several years after the lad had acquired more maturity and additional education.[10] Philip's determination to install Quiroga did not overcome the resistance of the latter, and finally, after several months, the king commanded that he accept.[11] The formal election took place on February 19, 1577, but the new archbishop did not enter upon his functions until sometime later.[12] Pope Gregory XIII officially installed him on September 6, 1577, and sent the pallium, which Quiroga received on October 20 of that year.[13] A close friend of Quiroga's, Antonio de Pazos, the bishop of Pati, took possession in his name three days later. Not until March 24, 1578, did the new archbishop personally enter into the cathedral at Toledo. The following day he swore to uphold the constitutions framed in the Toledan synod of 1566. The indifference recently displayed by Gaspar for political affairs served to make him generally acceptable to the rabid partisan elements in Toledo, and Holy Week was celebrated in proper and formal fashion that year in the cathedral city.[14]

One week before Quiroga entered the city of Toledo, Philip made a momentous decision, which deserves the attention it has never received. In a letter to his papal ambassador, Don Juan de Zúñiga, the king notified him that the Spanish Reformation was committed to the charge of the new archbishop of Toledo.[15] Thereafter, the wise old man from Madrigal would have royal support in carrying out his program of achieving Spanish spiritual unity. He would have to combat the causes of disease within the Spanish Church, correct ill-advised administrative practices, obtain modified Spanish conformity to the decisions of the Council of Trent, foster the work of the new religious orders and their systems of education, and exalt scholarship and theological education.

To ensure Quiroga's prestige, Philip offered him the presidency of the Council of Castile vacated by the death of Diego de Covarrubias, bishop of Segovia. Quiroga, in keeping with his religious inclinations, refused this highest secular position in Spain.[16] On February 21, 1578, Gregory XIII appointed new cardinals. Ludwig von Pastor's study shows the careful thought for the needs of the Church that the pope displayed in his choice of these new men to the College of Cardinals. Gregory's guiding principle was to promote the Catholic restoration.[17] When Ferrante de Toledo, a holy Spanish ascetic, refused a cardinal-

ate, Philip's ambassador at Rome insisted upon Quiroga as a replacement.[18] Gregory at first refused, but upon further reflection he decided to choose this man who promised to further the decrees of the Council of Trent in Spain. Accordingly, Quiroga received the red hat on December 15, 1578,[19] and the city of Madrid honored him with a holiday of worship and laudatory poetry.[20]

Constitutional Change

Fortified with papal and royal approbation, the aging ecclesiastic first revised the constitutions governing the church of Toledo and its archbishopric. Prepared to present these reforms, he called a diocesan synod in 1580 and secured warm approval of his revisions. They became ecclesiastical law for the clergy of the archbishopric on May 16 of that same year.[21]

These new constitutions mark the beginning of Quiroga's efforts to reform ecclesiastical affairs in central Castile. To restore the sanctity of the Church in the minds of the people, Quiroga limited the public use of the cathedral for non-ecclesiastical affairs. He decreed that no councils or town meetings would be held valid if they were assembled in churches or cemeteries. The custom of priests' holding the ostentatious religious processions called memorials was forbidden, except in the case of the fiesta of Corpus Christi, which was celebrated in all the churches in a decent manner. Any acts to be performed on the day of Corpus Christi must secure the approval of judges appointed by the archbishop.[22]

Further restrictions forbade women from gossiping or holding conversations within the church. Neither could women stop in church doors or cemeteries and laugh aloud, strum guitars, or use profane language. To reduce the secular groups who constantly used the churches as places to meet, a limit of nine days for any group without a license from the vicars was put into effect. Those who erred and violated the peace and holiness of any church would be obliged to seek forgiveness with all humility and honesty.

In an effort to achieve a more reverential attitude among the people, the *Evangelios*, a small book containing chapters of St. John and the other Evangelists, was ordered to be carried upon entry into church. The liturgy connected with the administration of the sacraments would be performed by the clergy and the populace in exact accordance with the traditional prescriptions of the most faithful.

The Moriscos, an ever present element of concern to Spanish Catholics, received due consideration. The priests in the various parishes were charged with the responsibility of administering all the provisions of the constitution pertaining to this group. Every priest had to see that all the Moriscos in his parish attended church and school, assisted at High Mass, and spoke no Arabic. Children five years of age and upwards were to be freed if they had been captives. Moriscos were absolutely forbidden to move from parish to parish without giving notice to their priests. Clearly, Quiroga was using the ecclesiastics to keep tight control on the Moriscos. He felt that compulsory religious education was necessary for the salvation of Moriscan souls, even if it required rigid controls which limited the freedom of movement of the Moriscos.

To insure proper reading material, free of heresy, Quiroga's constitutions included censorship provisions. All books printed or used in his archbishopric first had to be examined before receiving his express license.[23] No book could be bought or sold without such a license, under pain of excommunication, and consequently the circulation of an unlicensed book had little sale value.[24]

To raise the level of comportment among the clergy, Quiroga stipulated that no clerics ordained in a sacred order or possessing an ecclesiastical benefice should deviate from the time-honored language and customs at Mass, weddings, and other events. In the case of bull fights, a most rigid code had to be followed. Although a brief of Gregory XIII, dated August 25, 1575, permitted bull fights in Spain if they were not held during a religious holiday, Quiroga decreed that no regular nor secular clergy nor holders of benefices would attend such bloody, gambling spectacles. Vows at bull fights or oaths made on the honor of God or the saints were outlawed. To insure close observance of these decrees, the archbishop promised excommunication *latae sententiae* to any violators, reserving absolution to the superior ecclesiastical authorities at Madrid.[25]

The *Manual of the Sacraments*

Quiroga realized that the provisions dealing with the sacraments were not uniform in Spain. At the same time that the constitutions were being prepared in 1579, he ordered work to begin on a new manual to regulate the administration of the holy sacraments. The old one commonly used in the diocese had certain notable weak-

nesses needing reformation. The work was charged to Dr. García de Loaysa, a canon of the cathedral at Toledo, and to his assistant, Dr. Francisco de Pisa, dean of the University of Toledo.

The work was conscientiously begun, and the authors were careful to move slowly, securing approval of controversial points from many theological doctors and canons who continually proofread it and offered suggestions. Pisa and a Jeronymite friar, Juan de Espinosa, journeyed from diocese to diocese, making comparisons with the many manuals then in use. In the fall of 1581 Quiroga ordered that the work be examined by a conference of learned men in his presence. In addition to Quiroga, Loaysa, and Pisa, those present were Dr. Juan López, theological inspector of the churches of Toledo; Dr. Juan de Mariana, a Jesuit theologian and trusted friend of the archbishop; Dr. Jerónimo Vázquez, professor of canon law at the University of Toledo; and Pedro Ruiz Alcoholado, the consultant of Vázquez. The council sat for several days discussing the objections raised by the monastic orders and various ecclesiastics. Compromises were made, and the manual was approved, primarily because of the great prudence, wisdom, and respected authority of Quiroga.[26]

Finally, on December 21, 1581, the work was completed in a form which pleased the framers and gave hope to all concerned. Philip II, upon hearing that the manual was exceptionally well received in all circles, ordered that a copy be sent to court. The reception there was so favorable that on November 15, 1582, Philip decided it should serve for the entire realm and made arrangements for its printing at the monastery of San Lorenzo el Real.[27]

By October, 1583, the printed manuals were circulated even in remote areas. Quiroga desired to obtain uniformity in order to strengthen the Church and combat deviations from the Catholic faith. As early as March, 1581, he had solicited royal aid in extending and revising the reception of the sacraments in such outlying areas as Orán, which had been neglected for decades. Needing especial attention, he felt, was the sacrament of Confirmation. He suggested to Philip that where such failure existed it should be remedied by placing the bishop and cathedral directly under the supervision of Toledo, and by establishing an active *cabildo* (ecclesiastical chapter) to supervise the work.[28] Briefly, Quiroga stood for better and more uniform church administration and for further extension of ecclesiastical control centralized at Toledo. Another step along this line was

taken on June 15, 1584, when Quiroga issued an edict ordering the Toledan diocese to use the reformed Roman Breviary of Clement VIII.[29]

The Toledan Council of 1582

Even before the completion of the *Manual of the Sacraments,* the efficient planning of Quiroga called for further ecclesiastical reforms on the highest levels. As usual, Quiroga recognized the papal prerogatives, and he applied for permission to call a special synod in the diocese of Toledo, approval of which Gregory granted on July 23, 1581.[30]

At this point Quiroga unexpectedly found himself between Philip and the pope. To the old subjects of disagreement between the king and the pope, a new one was added. Pope Gregory XIII tried to prevent Philip from sending a royal representative to this synod. Philip, however, was deeply interested in the proposed ecclesiastical reforms from a national standpoint and unhesitantly sent his delegate.[31] The pope, viewing Quiroga's synod as a phase of the reforms stipulated by the Council of Trent, refused to permit a royal representative to sit in the ecclesiastical council. Gregory ordered that the royal privilege should be withdrawn and the name of the representative be erased from the list. Quiroga had to act as mediator in the affair and sent his capable canon, Juan Bautista Pérez, to answer Gregory's nuncio, Cardinal Boncompagni.[32] Pérez offered historical precedent to establish the legitimate presence of a royal representative, but Boncompagni stated that Pius IV and Pius V had expressly forbidden it. While the conversations were in progress, Philip played a master stroke by convoking the Castilian Cortes in Madrid. The Cortes demonstrated favorably as a unit for the king, and the pope receded from his determined stand, deferring presumably because of better information on the problem. Papal approbation was extended to the council with the royal representative receiving full acceptance and rights.[33]

Quiroga's stand had been a careful one, tacitly suggesting that the king's delegate be accepted, but not demanding it. As a result of the action of the Cortes, he had not been forced to take a dogmatic position in the dispute. Thus, theoretically and actually, Quiroga could still pose as a leader in world-wide Catholic reform.

The controversy did cause a delay, and not until more than a year later, September 8, 1582, was the historic twentieth and last Toledan

Council convoked in the palace of the archbishop. Quiroga, thoroughly in command of the situation, presided over the meetings. The bishops present were Alvaro de Mendoza (Palencia), Antonio de Pazos (Córdoba), Francisco Sarmiento (Jaén), Gómez Zapata (Cuenca), Alonso Velázquez (Osma), Fr. Lorenzo de Figueroa (Sigűenza), and Alonzo de Bobadilla (Segovia). Alonzo de Mendoza represented the Abbey of Valladolid, but the vacancy of the Abbey of Alcalá la Real remained unfilled. From among this group Quiroga, his assistant (García de Loaysa), and the bishops of Osma and Jaén steered the policy of reform.[34]

Many of the topics were abandoned because of the usual lack of agreement among the representatives of the various districts and orders.[35] Fortunately, some useful laws were passed for the purpose of reforming customs and augmenting religion. Those present assented to many conditions designed to unite the bishops in a common policy. The archiepiscopal residence would henceforth be in Toledo; canons and other church dignitaries would live as near the cathedral church as possible; episcopal archives would be established; seminaries for the training of clerics would be erected. A policy for the establishment and settlement of last wills and testaments was determined. The transference of ecclesiastical goods was prohibited. Provisions were made for the exercise of jurisdiction over those who failed to attend punctually to their priestly offices and duties. Abuses introduced into the administration of the sacraments were extirpated, and Quiroga's *Manual* was adopted. Rules for the celebration of the Mass, the clerical garments, and the minimum qualities of the ordained were agreed upon. Quiroga introduced and secured acceptance of an energetic prohibition of games, dances, and plays (*comedias*) in religious functions. His desire to encourage the expansion of monastic orders was favorably regarded by the council and passed with only the stipulation that good government be provided in the monasteries of both sexes. As for the Moriscos, the policy of affording them religious instruction and education became the professed Spanish aim.[36]

The Veneration of Saints

The same council followed a resolution defined by a special commission of Pope Gregory concerning the relics of the saintly martyrs Fausto, Ianuario, and Marcial, all originally of Córdoba. Nowhere more than in Spain would such an appeal have received this enthusiastic support, especially since it was introduced on February 22,

the anniversary of the recapture of Córdoba from the Moors.[37] The council declared that all faithful Christians owed veneration to these relics, just as they did to those saints who reigned with God in heaven. They further resolved to see that the bodies of the saints in question would be placed in suitable locations and surroundings.

With this high note the council ended. Quiroga, through his constitutions, the *Manual of Sacraments,* and the synodal decrees, had laid the foundations for additional Catholic reform in Spain. The remainder of his years were spent in an attempt to translate these aims into practice.

Whether swayed by personal choice or public clamor, the archbishop turned immediately to the last item considered in the council. The pope, prelates, and royal representative had unanimously spoken for the care of relics and the veneration of saints.[38] Capitalizing upon the recent discovery of the bodies of Saints Fausto, Ianuario, and Marcial, Quiroga set out to capture the imagination and win the support of the Castilian populace by circulating the historical story of their background.[39]

According to the published account, Marcellus, a centurion of the Trajan legion of Rome, had been stationed in the city of León by the co-emporers Diocletian and Maximian during the consulship of Anicio Fausto and Galo.[40] Marcellus and his wife Nora were Christians, and they died in the Maximian persecutions. Their three sons, Fausto, Ianuario, and Marcial, showing the same religious preference, were martyred in the city of Córdoba on September 28, or October 13 (there were two burnings), 310 A.D. Reportedly, the Christian friends of the youths obtained their bodies and buried them on the site where the sixteenth century parochial church of San Pedro de Córdoba was erected.[41] On November 21, 1575, workmen tore away some casement from the church of San Pedro in Córdoba and discovered a rock stating that the Saints Fausto, Ianuario, and Marcial were at rest there.[42] Medical examiners were called in, and they reportedly established that the bodies were those of the martyrs because, for one thing, they were in a partly burned condition. The bishop of Córdoba, Bernardo de Fresnada, ordered that they be placed in a *Capilla* and informed Philip II of the discovery. Philip sent his chronicler, Ambrosio de Morales, to obtain an account of the entire story.

Matters were at this point when Gregory XIII turned the subject over to Quiroga at the Toledan Council of 1582. Antonio de Pazos,

bishop of Córdoba, notified Quiroga that he had erected a sumptuous *Capilla* on the spot where the bodies were found, adorning it with paintings, marble carvings, and precious stones.[43]

The favorable reception of this artistic glorification by the populace was immediate.[44] Quiroga knew that the people expected color, ceremony, pomp, and grandeur from their great princes, ecclesiastical or secular. No doubt he would have seconded the advice Alvaro Gómez de Castro had proffered years earlied to Cardinal Cisneros, informing the latter that the Church had many diverse adornments, just as every state of life had its appropriate conditions, and the adornments should not be rejected too contemptuously. Dignity of rank and prestige and the authority of the Church had to be maintained.[45] In keeping with this program, Quiroga issued an edict covering the publication of a memorandum exalting the saints of Toledo, stressing particularly Saint Leocadia and Saint Ildefonso.[46]

Saint Ildefonso had been archbishop of Toledo from 659 to 677. During the later conquest of the area by the Moors his body was taken by the fleeing Christians and deposited in the church of San Pedro in the city of Zamora. There it remained until Quiroga took personal action to return the body to Toledo in 1584. Lengthy written accounts purporting to demonstrate the authenticity of the remains preceded its arrival.[47]

Simultaneously, the archbishop made efforts to recover the much sought-after relics of Saint Leocadia.[48] This nobly born native of Toledo, the lovely and aristocratic Leocadia, suffered martyrdom in the persecutions of Diocletian and Maximian. Legends said that she returned to life after three hundred years to appear before Archbishop Ildefonso, the king, and all the people. She thus became the first saint of Toledo, and during the early part of the Middle Ages three churches dedicated to her had existed in Toledo. As in the case of Saint Ildefonso, her remains were carried northward during the Moorish invasion. When Colonia Agrippina was threatened, her body was deposited in the diocese of Cambrai in northeastern France, where it remained for four hundred years. Then it was deposited in the monastery of San Ghislain in Flanders, where it still rested in the sixteenth century.[49]

Fortunately for Quiroga, times were propitious for a transfer of the body. The revolt against Spanish authority in the Netherlands had been the occasion for the destruction of images and desecration of church relics by the iconoclastic Protestants.[50] Fearing similar

action to the remains of Saint Leocadia, the monks of San Ghislain released the body to Quiroga's representative, the Jesuit padre Miguel Hernández, after Philip's regent in the Netherlands, Alexander Farnese, agreed to Quiroga's request for transfer.[51] The story of Padre Hernández' difficulties in protecting the body from the time he received it, February 8, 1583, until its arrival in Toledo, April 26, 1587, forms a tale in itself.[52] He deposited the body with the Jesuits at Tournai until he obtained a pontifical brief and a decree from Philip II to move it to Spain. In October, 1585, he left Tournai with the relics in a rich trunk and experienced difficulty all along the Louvain-Liege-Coblenz-Frankfort-Augsburg-Trent route, arriving in Rome on February 13, 1586. From there he went to Genoa, sailed to Barcelona, travelled through Valencia and Cuenca, and reached Jesus del Monte, a residence of the Jesuits, on September 12. There Quiroga permitted the remains to stay until April 21, 1587. Then the itinerary went through Corpa, Valdemoro, and Esquivias, arriving at the basilica of La Vega outside of Toledo on the twenty-fifth of that month.

The entrance procession was solemnly and magnificently composed of several thousand people in the following order: 400 students of theology carrying standards, scepters, and the parochial crosses of the city and districts; 70 young girls dressed in white and blue, playing musical instruments; 1000 friars from the Toledan convents; over 500 priests from the 80 localities that fell under the jurisdiction of Toledo; an unspecified number of clerics, canons, and benefice-holders; the hermandad (town police); the Inquisition; the 140 teachers and professors from the University of Toledo; 55 city judges; 26 regidors; the corregidor, Francisco de Carvajal, who rode between the Duke of Maqueda (the *alcalde mayor*) and Pedro López de Ayala, who was substituting for his father, the Duke of Fuensalida, *alguacil mayor* of the city; next, the *grandees* of Spain; and, lastly, a vast number of *caballeros* and *señores.*

The procession slowly moved through the city to the town square. Here Philip II and the royal family came from the palace of the archbishop to lead the journey to the cathedral. Cardinal Quiroga, dressed in pontifical robes and wearing a mitre, received them at the entrance. The remains were placed on the high altar and left there until the following day to enable the populace to leave adornments and sing *Te Deums.*

The most important religious function occurred on Monday, April 27, when Quiroga celebrated Pontifical Mass with the king and queen

in attendance; the relics were officially recognized as authentic, and the king donated them to the cathedral at Toledo. Finally, the body was carried to the chapel where it was to remain in perpetuity.

The people were reminded that in days past King Don Pelayo and Archbishop Urban had taken relics from Toledo in the face of heretics and preserved them when the land was being maltreated by barbarous infidels; the people realized that they received a similar benefit from Philip II and Archbishop Quiroga, who now returned Saint Leocadia to the city from Flanders, where some of the towns leaned toward the Lutheran heresy.

The celebrations continued for the rest of the week, and it was during these days that the tremendous task of reform can be fully appreciated. Archbishop Quiroga, by magnificently impressing the people with the importance and solemnity of the return of the remains of Saint Leocadia, had as his principal aim to establish in the public mind the exemplary virtues of which Saint Leocadia was the embodiment.[53] Francisco de Pisa, an eye-witness to these events, listed in the following order those virtues of the virgin which led to the attainment of perfection: faith, hope, and charity on the first level; then, humility, patience, kindliness, mercifulness, and all that accrued to these; lastly, poverty, chastity, vigilance, and abstinence. Quiroga emphasized that Saint Leocadia had drawn her lessons from the holy scriptures, fought tyranny with words, and fortified herself even in death with frequent reception of the sacrament of the Eucharist, which she received daily in order to have strength against enemies of the faith. Furthermore, she consoled the sick, helped the poor, gave courage to the vacillating, and aided all Christians.[54] How similar were these virtues to those Quiroga displayed at Cuenca! To glorify these virtues, he ordered the canon Pérez to supervise the construction of an arch at the cost of 7000 ducats, richly decorated with statues of kings, saints, and archbishops.[55] Prizes were offered for the best Greek epigraphs and the most outstanding Latin and Castilian poems and allegories.[56]

On this occasion Quiroga witnessed a partial misfire of his plans. He had perfectly staged the scene, but he was relying too heavily upon the proper emotional response from the people. They had gathered for a spectacle and celebration. The general demand among the populace was for a bull fight with twelve bulls that the town guilds had purchased. In agreement with the decisions of the Council of Toledo, the ecclesiastics and other religiously minded persons did not

want to mix the sacred and the profane. Nevertheless, public pressure was so great that Philip, who was still in the city, felt it unwise to disappoint the crowd. By Monday, May 4, the bulls were running, and the town was in open fiesta. The primitive elements showed up in the masked dances with horses' heads and the like, which the people insisted upon doing at night. The results were something more than innocent pastime and holy joy.[57]

Disappointments of this type occasioned by the acts of the populace deeply affected Quiroga. Although he has left no formal treatises of his own for the historian to cite, contemporary critics of the prelate indicate that he would have taken at least a modified step towards adopting the *filosofía vulgar,* an attitude which held in deprecation the common masses.[58] Less and less did he feel inclined to assist the general populace directly.[59] Instead, most of his charity was channelled on the higher levels to the king and high-ranking ecclesiastics and secular officials who had immediate objects at hand which offered hope of aiding Spain materially as well as spiritually.[60] Much of the later criticism of Quiroga resulted from this change. The letters of the archbishop indicate that it was a tendency which became more pronounced. The concept that true nobility and noble actions received their derivation from the virtue of noble ancestry expressed itself again and again, not only in Quiroga's letters,[61] but also in those of other leading Spaniards of the sixteenth century.[62]

Reform of Morals

Quiroga's aristocratic views, however, did not preclude any further attempts to spread his reform or to direct some charity toward the populace.[63] Earlier suggestions by Philip II and Mateo Vázquez[64] to adopt a strong policy against numerous public sins were acted upon in 1586. Quiroga headed a commission bent on the reform of morals and the clergy. As early as March 16 of that year Rodrigo de Castro, archbishop of Seville, called a synod in his diocese for such reform. The work had progressed so well that on October 20, Hierónimo Lippomano, the Venetian ambassador, sent the following information to the Doge and the Senate:

> The three commissioners for the reform of morals and the enforcement of pious living have just issued an order which has been published in the churches. Under pain of excommunication anyone who is aware of the existence of a heretic, or a dweller in concubinage, or who keeps in his house gam-

> ing tables or casinos for loose women, is to denounce the same to the Cardinal of Toledo. Execution has already been given to the order by the outlawry of several widow ladies of high standing who kept casinos in their houses; and Don Alonso Manrique has been put in prison for living in concubinage, in spite of his being one of the great knights, brother of the Count of Ponsalide, *major domo* to the king.[65]

There can be no doubt that both Philip and Quiroga zealously desired moral improvement. The above evidence indicates only the action taken among the upper levels of society. Either little effort was made to introduce this on the lower levels, or else the contemporary writers regarded such action as too uninteresting and unimportant to record.

Erection of Seminaries and Convents

In contrast to the scarcity of information on the correction of morals, the documents abound with evidence of the efforts that the archbishop made to erect and improve seminaries and convents. Following the decree of the Council of Trent, and in accordance with one of the decisions made at the Council of Toledo concerning the erection of seminaries, Quiroga formed a commission to put the program in effect. Those comprising the commission were Antonio de Covarrubias, *Maestrescuela* of Toledo, named by the *cabildo* of the church; Jerónimo Vázquez, priest of San Lorenzo de Toledo, named by Quiroga; and Francisco de Pisa, elected by the clergy of Toledo. A great many meetings were held before the commission reported unfavorably on the erection of a new seminary.[66] Gregory XIII emphasized its necessity, but Quiroga had to agree with the commission that although it was desirous to carry out the decrees of the Council of Trent, other factors such as the sterility of the seasons, crop failures, and poor conditions made it impossible for benefice holders to make contributions beyond their regular commitments.[67]

Educational Interest

Convinced that the holders of ecclesiastical benefices in Toledo would not or could not support his educational program, Quiroga turned again to the energetic Jesuits. He personally donated 20,000 ducats to help them found a college in Talavera. Next, he issued an instrument of foundation for the College of San Eugenio at Toledo, under Jesuit auspices.[68] His beloved Augustinians responded later with funds for a new college in Seville.[69]

In 1585, he received aid from another quarter. All the rents of the bishopric of León were given for the establishment of a college in Alcalá de Henares.[70] Philip II became duly enough impressed to remove his objections and permit the erection and establishment of a college of English Jesuits at Valladolid with the stipulation that each student would produce a certificate establishing his birth, profession, and Catholic manner of living.[71]

The various monastic orders, seeing that Quiroga's decrees in the Council of Toledo in 1582 were actually sincere, seized upon the clause favoring monastic growth and began or continued their programs of expansion. In the next decade the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Jesuits, and Carmelites established at least twenty-six convents and hospitals in the bishoprics of Cuenca, Valladolid, Jaén, and Murcia alone.[72]

The overall result of the program manifested itself in the university enrollment during the latter years of Quiroga's life. Spanish centers of higher learning reached the height of their prestige during this period.[73] For example, the entries of the "Books of Matriculation" at Salamanca show that in the school year 1584-1585 the enrollment reached 6,778, which is the highest that the university can show.[74] The same holds true for the University of Toledo. In the last two decades of the century, as Toledo grew to greater importance, its university turned out almost as many graduates as did Salamanca.[75]

Besides the renown of many members of the university faculty, a great attraction to scholars was the cathedral library, which had been enlarged during Quiroga's time. He had three capable librarians, Jerónimo de Torres, Juan Bautista Pérez, and Cristóbal de Palmares, who worked laboriously to enlarge the library's collection of books and codices. It had a public character, and the literary groups and the erudite of the city met often within its walls, recognizing it as the center of Toledan culture.[76]

V

PATRONAGE OF THE ARTS

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After attending to more strenuous and less enjoyable duties, Archbishop Quiroga often returned to the library at Toledo to enjoy the warm friendship of Don Diego de Covarrubias, El Greco, Francisco de Pisa, Juan Bautista Pérez, García de Loaysa, and others. These men were an intellectual group dedicated to the preservation of knowledge and the extension of learning.[1] They valued highly Greek, Latin, and Castilian poetry, and contributed to a literature imbued with lofty, mystical sentiments concerning man's hope for forgiveness and eternal life.[2] El Greco, the only known man ever permitted to do portraits of Quiroga, mirrored this trait in his painting, *The Crucifixion.*[3] Christ is represented upon the cross as a symbol of suffering and redemption, not as the dying Lord. The tranquillity of this picture also carries over into his *Christ Embracing the Cross.*

In this work El Greco has chosen to represent Christ with tearful eyes shining with forgiveness, the cross held upright. This is a gentle Savior and is in striking contrast to a popular trend in Spain at that time which preferred to show the exhausted Christ bending beneath His heavy cross.[4] Quiroga's close association with, and patronage of, El Greco may well be explained from the above clues.

The general populace was aroused to pious enthusiasm by realistic representations of suffering and martyrdom. Many of the people, accustomed to warfare, growing poverty, violent scenes in the bull ring, and lurid dances at night, demanded art presentations of torture and brutality.[5] At the same time, there were those in society who failed to appreciate such pictorial representations, and Quiroga chose to be among this latter group.

Quiroga followed St. Augustine's definition: "Liberal arts are those which are worthy of a Christian and show us the way to true knowledge."[6] He subsidized art in an attempt to show the faithful the way of truth and convert men to his religion and way of life. In the sacristy of the cathedral at Toledo is El Greco's famous *Casting of Lots for Christ's Garments,* which shows the interest both the painter and his patron held in relics. In 1584, at the request of the parish church of Santo Tomé, Quiroga commissioned him to paint *The Burial of Count Orgaz.*[7] This painting represents Don Gonzálo Ruiz de Toledo, the Jesuit benefactor, being laid to rest by Saint Augustine and Saint Stephen, to whom Count Orgaz had been devoted. During his lifetime the Count had built the Augustinian monastery at Toledo, and Quiroga felt such repayment was small enough honor.[8]

The Burial of the Count of Orgaz is usually considered El Greco's supreme achievement; in it his art has reached its apogee. In addition to the figures already mentioned in the painting, those in the heavenly company grouped behind Saint John have been identified as Quiroga, Pope Sixtus V, and Philip II.[9] Possibly the artist's method of flattering the great men of his time was to picture them as having an assured place among the host of the redeemed.[10]

Certainly Archbishop Quiroga deserved a place there if love of beauty and the arts was a criterion. The large group of artists who worked at this time for the cathedral of Toledo is of sufficient number to prevent listing.[11] Even landscaping and gardening were fostered by Quiroga. His *Cigarral,* or fruit orchard, became the richest and most beautiful in the land. He was often reported to have returned

from Madrid to this spot where the beauty of nature abounded to meditate upon the vanity of human greed and ambitions and to consider the true values of life.[12] Here Quiroga almost anticipated the most important tenet of the baroque period—the reuniting of the temporal and spiritual worlds. Just as Christian painting could help lead men away from vice and back to the true veneration of God, so also could this spiritual view of nature. Naturalism was an instrument in the service of the passionate spirituality which pervaded the epoch.[13]

To Quiroga art and nature, if studied properly, would assist man in understanding God. Significantly, he demanded that proper study and understanding should be reached through the Church and the Holy Sacraments. He energetically denounced any concepts of Baius[14] or the illuminists[15] which allowed bliss and perfection to be reached directly through grace alone. Quiroga's Spain could boast of books that were devoted to instructions on the proper way of painting sacred themes and images.[16] Especially important did such things become when one remembers that this archbishop of Toledo, Gaspar de Quiroga, was at the same time inquisitor general of the Spanish Inquisition. If he could not sufficiently uphold the dignity of art, of man, and of the Church through the usual ecclesiastical channels, he would try to do so in another way. His concern with the problem of the individual and his conscience—that spark of God within man handed down by his progenitors—and man's relation to the scientific, more particularized universe was paramount. Quiroga felt that education and knowledge could lead to greater understanding, wisdom, and a deepening of religious conviction. The belief strongly influenced his inquisitorial policies.

PART THREE

QUIROGA: INQUISITOR GENERAL OF THE SPAINS

VI

THE MORISCO PROBLEM

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The Spanish Inquisition probably could qualify as the most written about, but least understood, institution in Spain, especially insofar as its history during the latter half of the sixteenth century is concerned. The historian Juan Antonio Llorente,[1] who penned an outstanding condemnation of the Inquisition, did not have all the documents for this period as he claimed, or else failed to read and use them.[2] Charles Henry Lea, in his monumental study, makes only scattered references to the years 1572-1594, and usually relies upon Llorente for his documentation during these years.[3] Even many present day writers fail to distinguish between the inquisitorial policies of previous or succeeding decades and those of this period. Forgetting that an institution is comprised of men who modify old policies or form new ones, authors on the subject have proffered bril-

liant generalizations purporting to depict the character of the institution for all time.[4] The manner in which the institution has been characterized differs widely with the predisposition and scholarly canons of each individual writer.[5]

To help clarify this problem, the Inquisition and its policies under Gaspar de Quiroga are herein presented in accordance with the information available in authentic documents. Any generalization drawn is offered with the understanding that it held true only for a short period of time, until new inquisitors or kings changed it.

Gaspar de Quiroga became inquisitor general of Spain upon the death of Diego de Espinosa in September, 1572, and his successor, Pedro Ponce de León, in January, 1573.[6] The papal bulls accepting his nomination appeared on April 20, 1573, and Quiroga took possession in May.[7]

The new inquisitor general, utilizing the first-hand experience he gained while touring Andalucía and Granada during the Morisco revolt in 1570, embarked upon the internal problem of the Moriscos. A sound Church-State needed to have evils corrected at the core before dealing with peripheral matters. The patterns these policies followed were dictated, at least in part, by past customs and local desires. As early as 1555 the inquisitor Valdés had issued an Edict of Grace, offering absolution to repentant Moriscos who voluntarily denounced their sins against the Church.[8] The plan was never effectively introduced although it contained passages which would have lessened the difficulty of assimilating the Moriscos into society at large. Eleven years later, on March 19, 1566, the Moriscos in Xea begged for a reissuance of the edict, asking for instruction in the Christian faith and agreeing to use the Spanish language and dress. They further offered to pay the *diezmos,* or ecclesiastical tithes, to support a Christian pastor. Upon receiving the petition, the local inquisitors of Saragossa referred the matter to Madrid.[9] However, a harsh edict was issued by Espinosa which ignored the earlier Morisco petitions and informed Spaniards how heretics among the Morisco population could be detected. The edict stated that anyone saying Moorish prayers, singing Moorish songs, marrying according to Moorish custom, reading something forbidden, teaching the five commandments of Mohammed to little children, washing the dead or putting clothing on the dead, or putting milk, honey, or food in the sepulchres of the dead, was to be reported to the inquisitorial authorities as a suspect.[10]

Reform and Opposition

Upon his advent to the office, Quiroga immediately began to deal with the long ignored petitions. At his request the Valencian inquisitor, Haedo, reported that much work needed to be done in the vicinity of Xea. A lack of instruction in Christian doctrine and an absence of priests to administer to the Moriscos prevailed throughout the district.[11] Sympathetically inclined, Quiroga suggested that each Morisco *barrio* (town subdivision) be permitted to appoint a representative who had appellate privileges for his constituents. Following his generous program at Cuenca, he likewise saw the need for charity among the Moriscos at Xea and suggested that steps be taken to administer aid. The inquisitor general stated that he wanted to remove any desire for this unassimilated group to live as heretical Moors.[12] Haedo curtly reported a month later that such policies would be difficult to put into practice because the Moriscos were a widespread group whose fear of the Inquisition hampered attempts at reconciliation.[13]

Undaunted by such an answer, Quiroga received the necessary papal concession and issued the Edict of Grace and Reconciliation[14] with Philip's complete approval. By its provisions heretics who repented of their own free will within seventy days after its promulgation would receive complete forgiveness and mercy. Those known or suspected heretics who did not confess would be called before the Inquisition and stand trial according to canon law. Philip left the time and places of publication of the edict solely to Quiroga's judgment.[15]

Since the original appeal for the edict had come from Xea, the grand inquisitor felt that it was only just to grant clemency in this area first. A split developed among the local Valencian inquisitors, and the senior inquisitor, Haedo, led the opposition against the promulgation of the edict in areas under his immediate jurisdiction. Nevertheless, the majority voted to accept Quiroga's judgment.[16] Desiring to get to the bottom of the opposition, Quiroga challenged Haedo to demur publicly so that the reasons for his obstruction could be known.

Documentary silence leaves the challenge unanswered. To explain his position the grand inquisitor sent a clearly worded *consulta* to the Valencian inquisitors on March 23, 1574, and forwarded copies to the bishops of Segorbe and Tortosa. He admitted that many persons

born and baptized within the Roman Catholic Church had fallen into the Mohammedan heresy. In the past, he wrote, the Inquisition received information concerning the crimes of this sect, took the members into custody, confiscated their goods, reconciled them, and exacted spiritual penance or levied sentences that seemed necessary to the individual case. However, many Moriscos had continued to be guilty of apostasy and heresy. In most cases they had become delinquent because of the lack of religious instruction, especially sacramental instruction. Working on the assumption that delinquency occurred more through ignorance and improper training than through malice, Quiroga suggested that clemency and rigorous religious education might produce the desired correction whereas arrest, conviction, and confiscation only caused damage to the subjects and their goods.

With the approval of Philip II and the pope, Quiroga issued the Edict of Grace so that mercy and clemency might be granted to those who came and confessed of their own free will to the inquisitors. The edict applied to every area in the kingdom of Valencia, but did not include those districts already condemned by the Inquisition. For those who confessed, complete absolution would be the reward without any public penance; for those who did not confess, excommunication would rapidly follow. Significantly, he placed the duty of adequate instruction upon the prelates and priests of the Catholic Church.[17]

The news of the edict received popular Morisco approval, and demands poured in for this benefit to be extended. However, an effective opposition to Quiroga's edict existed among the wealthy prelates and nobility in some of the areas concerned. This resistance in Xea prevented many Moriscos from being informed about the edict until after the seventy days of grace ended.[18]

The edict was reissued,[19] and Quiroga began his long effort to overcome the lethargy and inaction of those who blocked reform. As early as February 19, 1574, he sent a special delegate to help correct the situation in Xea.[20] In September, 1578, twelve friars went to the Valencian area to supervise publication of the edict and receive the penitents in spite of the recalcitrant attitude of the wealthy ecclesiastics and landed nobles.[21] In May, 1583, Quiroga ordered the Valencian inquisitors to submit a list of those who inadvertently confessed before a new edict of that year became legally effective, demanding that justice be rendered.[22]

These efforts were somewhat successful but localized, and the inquisitor general began a series of widespread reforms designed to eliminate the sources of heresy. New churches were established in Aragon[23] and Valencia on the recommendation of an ecclesiastical commission which met under Philip's orders.[24] Even the bishop of Segorbe, a prelate who saw little good in the Moriscos, admitted that the tireless efforts of the Inquisition had bettered the conditions of the Moriscos.[25] The only criticism the bishop levelled at the efforts should be carefully weighed. He complained that the inquisitors failed to treat with proper respect their witnesses drawn from the leading civil administrators of the towns.[26] Action other than this would have been surprising, especially since these particular officials had helped direct the passive resistance against the earlier Edict of Grace.[27]

In Aragon more favorable conditions existed for the reform program. Not only were the Moriscos generally desirous for the edict, but many of the wealthier nobles supported the program.[28] The Aragonese landlords appreciated the prospect of Catholicized Moriscos loyal to the Spanish monarch. They needed the Moriscos to farm their estates and hoped that religious assimilation would reduce the Morisco connivances with the Protestants across the Pyrenees. The landlords, therefore, positively aided the program by persuading the Moriscos to surrender their arms in return for their support regarding the edict. Quiroga favored the plan because a dissident minority of armed Moriscos[29] had seriously hampered the operations of the Inquisition throughout Aragon.[30] Philip, heartily supporting Quiroga, granted the Inquisition authority to control the carrying of arms and the making of powder by the Moriscos.[31] This opened a new field of operations to the Inquisition at the expense of secular officials and indicated Philip's trust in Quiroga and the Inquisition.

The king's confidence seldom was misplaced, nor was it in this instance. Relying upon his trusted Aragonese inquisitors, Doctors Juan de Ribera, Diego Romano, and Miguel Hierónymo Morell, the grand inquisitor ordered an inspection which was designed to check the corruption appearing within the Aragonese Inquisition in the summer of 1579. Eventually a lesser inquisitor who used his office to extort goods from the Moriscos was convicted and disgraced.[32] At the beginning of 1578 the Aragonese Moriscos received permission to place Arias de Reynoso as their delegate at court, thereby providing a direct channel to the king as security against maladministration.[33]

French Complications

If the Moriscos could have achieved any unity among themselves and taken advantage of the sympathetic policies of Quiroga, the hopes of many Spaniards and Moriscos might have had a better chance for success. Unfortunately, some Moriscos distrusted the overtures and refused to seek grace or to surrender their arms.[34] This armed recalcitrance caused disturbing rumors to circulate in Madrid. One letter with no signature reported that it was common knowledge in 1575 that French Protestants were poised on the Catalonian frontier in the area of Nîmes, Azayas, Montpellier, and the border of Narbonne.[35] The inquisitor Morell warned of a similarly existing threat in the city of Aix in the county of Foix. Consequently, he felt that the surrounding areas of the county of Cerdagne, the valley of Andorra, and Urgel were threatened. According to his sources of information, heretics were being supplied with munitions, powder, and other war materials from France. The belligerent Moriscos who failed to cooperate with the disarmament program of the Inquisition were suspected of heresy and treason, and the Inquisition seized one of the foremost, Mossen Guillan Clauset, along with two fellow merchants profiting in the sales, a Frenchman named Pére Germa,[36] and an Italian named Juan Antonio Galeazo.[37] Additional edicts of Quiroga failed to obtain conformity; the prelate abandoned words for action. An inspection was conducted with such rigor by the inquisitor Juan de Ribera, especially in Perpigñán, that the viceroy of Catalonia begged Quiroga to delimit the jurisdictional boundaries of the Inquisition. The viceroy admitted he did not know the extent of the areas of jurisdiction Philip had recently granted Quiroga's Inquisition on the frontier, and he desired to avoid any embarrassment which might result from his ignorance in this matter. He discovered that the Inquisition had complete authority to establish road blocks and check people crossing the Catalonian frontiers.[38] This power recently derived from the pope and approved by Philip transferred more jurisdiction from secular to inquisitorial authorities.[39] This transference had originally been instigated by Quiroga's report to Philip on May 3, 1576, which pointed out the failure of secular officials to exercise diligence in halting the passage of horses to French territory.[40]

The fear of French invasion never abated. For two years unwanted visitors from the Huguenot areas trickled into the valley of Andorra,[41] and the local inhabitants appealed to Quiroga for protection.[42] His

deep concern about the danger had some foundation. During January, 1575, ten thousand books dealing with religious questions were reportedly shipped across the Pyrenees into Philip's dominions, and several great nobles on the peninsula were suspected of being involved.[43] The Inquisition failed to learn the identity of any high-ranking Spaniards allegedly involved in the transaction.[44] Most likely the event was highly exaggerated as to the number of books and persons involved. Proceedings conducted against five obscure suspects named Juan Gallardo, Juan Ovalet, Ramon Lavegueria, Pedro Mensa, and Juan Puybert failed to disclose anything of importance.[45]

A more concrete type of evidence turned up in the form of coins circulated originally in Flanders by the Protestant forces which had found their way over the trade routes to Béarn and eventually appeared in the trading channels of Catalonia. The coins, bearing the likeness of the pope on one side and the horns and face of the devil on the other, carried an inscription contemptuous of papal connections.[46] Unwilling to tolerate such affrontery, Quiroga had this money shut off from acceptable circulation in Aragon[47] on October 13, 1576, and ordered the adoption of closer methods of control at the border.[48] Instead of discovering heretics guilty of the above crimes, the inquisitors found that the regional secular officials were acting contrary to the desires of the Castilian-controlled Inquisition. The inquisitor Morell became particularly disturbed about conditions in the Valley of Aran in the Pyrenees. He found that horses were being sold and transported through this area into France, and he discovered that the spiritual aspects of life were neglected by the Royal *Audiencia* (a judiciary body in Spain with advisory duties to the topmost royal representatives in the administrative district in which it held jurisdiction).[49] The inquisitor Ovando sent Quiroga similar information about the Cortes in Navarre in March, 1578.[50]

This stiffening opposition to Quiroga's inquisitorial policies in the outlying areas of Philip's dominions was the reflection of broad political currents at work. The war in Flanders had not gone well for Spain, and the prospects of Henry of Navarre, Prince of Béarn, changed from fear to hope as the English warmed to him.[51] The Navarrese, perceiving this, were not above playing both sides against each other for personal benefit. The circumstances placed Quiroga's Inquisition in an unfavorable position. An agent of Henry arrived in Barcelona, but upon questioning he professed to be a Catholic, and the Inquisition had no grounds upon which to hold him.[52]

The man then proceeded to lay his plans, and by June of the following year two loads of heretical books were smuggled into Urgel by way of the Roussillon frontier.[53] The Aragonese Inquisition, certain that the literature would lead some people into bad living, redoubled its vigilance but only succeeded in detecting and arresting a ring of horse smugglers operating out of Saragossa.[54] Then the sudden appearance of a lady of rank, a Mademoiselle D'Anville, from France with many "Lutherans"[55] in her train on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Lady of Monserrat created a new type of problem. Although Spanish shrines were world-famous and normally attracted many devoted pilgrims, the inquisitors asked for a special ruling in this instance. Quiroga answered the queries of the Aragonese office by permitting the party to pass through quietly even though some of the inquisitors advised against it.[56]

The Aragonese inquisitors on the higher levels of authority were cautious and obedient at first, and asked Quiroga and the General Inquisition to give rulings on any question of procedure. When Prince Henry of Béarn appointed the popular Huguenot, Captain de Foix, as *Verquer* (high constable) of Andorra, the moment for decision arrived. De Foix's popularity would have enabled him to lead the people of the area into the Huguenot camp, especially since the townspeople were already leaning that way. The Aragonese Inquisition requested and received permission to arrest him, which they did on October 23, 1578.[57]

The caution and care of the Inquisition in these matters did not result in the exclusion of heresy or the true conversion of many Moriscos. Henry of Navarre, Prince of Béarn, had begun his climb to the throne of France. As his strength grew, the Huguenots bought more arms and ammunition from Spanish sources.[58] Philip's fears of a sudden invasion in 1578 induced him to permit a limited number of Moriscos to help manufacture gunpowder if they had been cleared by Quiroga or his commissioners.[59] This acted as a boomerang. Control was impossible. The Moriscos carried gunpowder into Béarn and other French areas and sold it at high prices.[60] Informed of this, the king ordered the Inquisition to forbid any Moriscos to leave the kingdom. The increased detention of suspects[61] by the Inquisition destroyed the past efforts of Quiroga to win the confidence of the Moriscos. They left the country by the score, going into Béarn from the Catalonian area of Perpigñán, or by the road leading to Navarre and Roncesvalles from Villafeliche.[62] It was a common sight to see

an armed Morisco.[63] The case of Gaspar Çaydejos, a Morisco, came before the Inquisition, and the court testimony disclosed that the newly converted were not, in practice, being admitted to any of the pardons published by Quiroga.[64] Neither were the Aragonese inquisitors cooperating with the grand inquisitor so closely as they had in the past. With the departure of Morell from that tribunal in 1579 just prior to the Çaydejos case, a certain licentiate named Gasca Salazar had taken over and operated in a harsh, high-handed manner. When Çaydejos confessed,[65] the more lenient Quiroga recommended dismissal of the case, fearing that Salazar's conduct during the trial in Aragon had given the defendant adequate grounds for an appeal to Rome.[66]

The problem created by the collusion of some Moriscos with the French Huguenots should not be underestimated. During the years 1580-83, Philip's troops were occupied in Flanders and Portugal. French opposition to the Spanish annexation of Portugal promised to be serious, and there was a possibility that this opposition might be military in nature.[67] Any friendly overtures by the Moriscos toward France at this time could only be regarded as high treason by the intensely patriotic Castilians.[68] Quiroga was busy with the diocesan synod at Toledo, and the Supreme Council of the Inquisition at Madrid acted on its own authority to send Philip at Lisbon a summation of the Morisco problem at that time.[69]

The high inquisitors believed that the Moriscos did not truly change at heart but merely used Quiroga's edict to be pardoned and thus escape jail or the galley. Although the religious instruction helped, they believed it had not been so successful as the Moriscos pretended because the newly converted were too obstinate religiously. Therefore, they felt that the new Edict of Grace being sought by some Aragonese Moriscos was merely a ruse to enable more to bear arms. The inquisitors pointed out that a certain Lope de Francia received a very high salary from outside sources to reside at the court in Madrid and encourage such business.[70]

Although this was the opinion of staunch Castilians, there was some truth in what they said. The viceroy of Aragon, the council of Catalonia, and the inquisitors in both localities noted abuses of the license to carry arms.[71] More serious, however, was the conspiracy that was planned by the Morisco leader Gil Pérez, Henry of Béarn, and the Portuguese adherents of Don Antonio, the claimant to the Portuguese throne.[72] Actual help across the Pyrenees from Henry

never arrived, but Gil Pérez led an uprising in 1584.[73] It was crushed, and with it went Quiroga's hopes of Morisco reform, at least for the time being. In actual point of fact, hopes of rather immediate success for the program had dwindled from 1578 to 1581. Between the years 1581 and 1587 Quiroga himself could do nothing to alleviate conditions. The above mentioned report of the General Inquisition to Philip in 1581 mirrored Castilian opinion at the time, and the later abuses and uprisings by some Moriscos only made bad conditions even worse.[74]

Extension of Morisco Religious Instruction

The majority suffered for the deeds of the few, and no one realized it more than Gaspar de Quiroga. During the aforementioned years when his other policies lay dormant, he instituted the educational reforms modeled after the decrees of the Council of Trent. The educational phase had been the one aspect of the reform not adequately extended to the newly converted. With the seminary and college program in Castile well under way by the end of 1586, the archbishop used his inquisitorial authority to convoke a *junta* to consider the case of the Valencian Moriscos and their religious instruction.[75]

The meeting began on June 17, 1587, and continued until August 30.[76] Those present in addition to Quiroga were Simón Grigola, vice-chancellor of Aragon; Don Diego Fernández de Bobadilla, Count of Chinchón; Sapena Regente, chairman of the Council of Aragon; Fray Diego de Chaves, the king's confessor; Don Francisco de Ribera, bishop of Segovia; Don Juan de Zúñiga, a member of the Council of the Inquisition; Don Hieronymo Corella, knight of Santiago; and Mateo Vásquez de Leca, secretary to both the Inquisition and the king. Quiroga had called eight of the most important administrators in the realm to consider the remedy of the Morisco problem through education.[77] He introduced the question of doctrine as the first topic for discussion. All agreed it should be the obligation of the prelates of the kingdom of Valencia to see that their rectors instructed the newly converted in the Catholic faith and Christian doctrine.[78] The emphasis on teaching and indoctrination was to be directed especially towards old women and children. The Granadine Moriscos, a people who neither went to church nor fought for the king,[79] would be removed from Valencia if the landowners agreed. Quiroga then ordered that the churches erected to advance the teaching program should be adorned with the art necessary for the service of each

church and should have the type of art to provoke devotion. Two new seminaries were to care for orphaned Moriscos and the catechism was to be taught in two languages, Valencian and Spanish. All the delegates except Juan de Zúñiga voted to establish a professorial chair for the Indian language. Quiroga proposed that all the Moorish men and women except the *alfaquies* (wise men) discard the Morisco clothing for Spanish garb.[80]

These accepted proposals were another attempt by Quiroga to assimilate the Morisco elements into Spanish society. Obviously, he had abandoned any hope of winning over the bitter Granadine elements scattered throughout the land after the 1570 uprising. Their treatment at that time had been harsh, and they had become more recalcitrant as the years passed.[81] Considering these circumstances, it was a just set of proposals and practical, except for the clause about the Indian language. The law forbidding all Moriscos to sail to the New World rendered valueless any teaching in Indian grammar, as Juan de Zúñiga indicated by voting against it.

Weakening of the Program

The old story of passive resistance by key administrators again appeared. The archbishop-patriarch of Valencia displayed only a lukewarm attitude,[82] even after Philip II wrote personally to him.[83] The king's direct and intense interest brought action that would not have been accomplished otherwise. The patriarch did feel impelled to work with the ecclesiastical educators appointed to teach the Moriscos; the bishop of Segorbe divided his bishopric into more rectorships to serve the populace more adequately.[84] By similar coercion the dean of Orihuela secured enough places for Morisco worship, obtained the priests needed for instructional purposes, and induced the bishop of Cartagena and rich noblemen to furnish sufficient financial backing for the enterprise in Murcia.[85]

The Valencian inquisitors did little or nothing themselves, thus depriving Quiroga of his most effective instrument in eastern Spain.[86] As Philip turned to English affairs in 1587-88, interest lagged. Quiroga felt prompted to call another *junta* in 1588,[87] but even Philip's belated help failed to arouse enough interest.[88] Excuses followed. Not until January 16, 1591, did the *junta* meet, minus two of the original members, Sapena Regente and Don Hieronymo Corella.[89]

This meeting produced resolutions which leave any reader of the minutes wondering how such good intentions ever failed. To begin

with, an Edict of Grace was given for two years with full pardon to all who confessed. Confessors were forbidden to reveal any information received from the penitents, nor would the confessors denounce anyone they believed guilty until after a two-year period had elapsed and the suspect had failed to confess. The problem of Morisco marriages already consummated in prohibited grades, reckoned as incestuous in Catholic moral theology because of the proximity of relationship, was solved by the issuance of a special dispensation from Rome. Of course, such marriages were forbidden in the future. The Granadine Moriscos as a group were not removed from Valencia because of landlord reluctance, but about three hundred specific individuals in Valencia and Castile were designated for removal. The lowering of the old restrictions carried over into dress, for the women of Orihuela were permitted to continue wearing Moorish garb. All others were to wear Valencian dress; only the Valencian language was required, the Spanish being dropped. To help the Moriscos, the *junta* ordered that all judges should have offices located in places convenient for the populace and that excellent rectors should be chosen for the seminaries. To assure that the decrees were carried out to his satisfaction, Philip appointed his own personal representative to conduct constant inspections.[90]

Quiroga and Philip hoped that these modifications of the 1587 proposals would bring real improvement; prospects were dimmed, however, by the attitude of the Aragonese Moriscos. On January 23, 1589, the Aragonese inquisitors reported they had received the king's letter of the preceding November, advising them to slip quietly around to see if any particular Morisco leaders were making warlike preparations. Secret investigations, they replied, were not necessary; open preparations for war were being made everywhere.[91] Although the Inquisition did not know it at the time, the merchants of Béarn were promising aid to anyone who might embarrass that part of Quiroga's inquisitorial policy which shut off their money from acceptable circulation in Aragon.[92] These occurrences, in addition to the Aragonese revolt of 1591 led by Antonio Pérez, delayed the introduction of the Morisco educational program until January, 1593. Only the Edict of Grace was issued, and opposition to it immediately arose. The Count of Chinchón felt even this was too generous since the Moriscos committed minor crimes while travelling to and from the inquisitorial offices to receive reconciliation. The secular *Justicia*

punished them for the crimes afterwards, and nothing was truly accomplished because of the resulting hard feelings.[93]

By this time Philip's benevolence disappeared. He agreed with the Count of Chinchón[94] that the inquisitorial headquarters in the Aljafería in Aragon should be combined with the military headquarters for security reasons.[95] In a significant meeting, the Council of the Inquisition framed a report to Philip which considered the sagacity of such a procedure. All the new members of the Inquisition, Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Don Pedro Pacheca, and the archdeacon of Toledo, supported the proposals of the Count of Chichón.[96] Don Juan de Zúñiga questioned the wisdom of such an action, while García de Loaysa, Vigil de Quiñones, and Quiroga strongly opposed it. The reports of the latter three coincide so closely that only Quiroga's need be discussed. The aged reformer told Philip that the soldiers and the Inquisition should not be together in the Aljafería because they were "things so distinct and different that they were not able to be together." He pointed at the heart of the problem by explaining that the plan would hamper the free and correct expression of the Holy Office if everyone had to register with the military authorities before visiting the inquisitorial offices. Since the entrance of the army into Aragon in 1591, that had been the procedure. Inquisitorial freedom from military coercion was the primary issue. As for the Moriscos, the council felt that possibly it would be wiser to permit the trustworthy ones to remain armed and manufacture gunpowder.[97]

Philip refused Quiroga's advice. After the withdrawal of the Castilian army in December, 1593, Philip constructed a fort and established a royal garrison in the Aljafería; weakly, the king asserted that the safety of the Inquisition must be insured.[98] Not to deny Quiroga entirely, he permitted him to apply for papal briefs for a new Edict of Grace,[99] and he left the old reformer theoretically in charge of licenses controlling the selection of Moriscos for work in gunpowder mills.[100] As long as Quiroga remained grand inquisitor, this control belonged to the Inquisition; but as the venerable old man lay dying in 1594, the king switched it to secular authorities under the viceroy of Aragon.[101] The measure was a foreshadowing of dire things to come for the Moriscos. Philip II changed his general attitude towards their reform only after a series of disappointments, partially resulting from the surly, non-cooperative, and even belligerent actions of some Moriscos. Equally serious in an insidi-

ous way was the non-activity and the apathy of certain secular, ecclesiastical, and minor inquisitorial figures upon whose shoulders the ultimate success of the reform depended. The instigator and author of the reforms, Quiroga, labored to the end for a cause he believed to be right in the eyes of his God and necessary for the welfare of his country. The responsibility for its failure was not his.

VII

REFORM AND FOREIGN POLICY

Maritime Inquisitors and England

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For many years it has been the fashion to criticize Philip II for extending inquisitorial jurisdiction to the Spanish fleet.[1] In an act of March 21, 1575, Inquisitor General Quiroga named Rodrigo de Mendoza as a new maritime inquisitor.[2] An examination of the instructions gives incontestable proof that there was no intention of placing more burdens upon the criminals abroad the ships. The principal purpose was to ascertain whether or not the shipboard conditions for prisoners were adequate. Condemnation to the galleys was considered by all criminals as most ignominious, and the prisoners manifested a great talent for simulating sickness and infirmities in order to escape this dreaded sentence. The Inquisition did not intend to ease sentences, but if any of the prisoners' complaints appeared justified, remedial measures were to be taken.[3]

The important, and hitherto overlooked, aspects of the entire problem were the foreign entanglements which the Inquisition directly faced as a result of this maritime jurisdiction. Queen Elizabeth of England had remained officially neutral in the revolt in the Netherlands during the first years of Quiroga's tenure as head of the Inquisition.[4] English ships and sailors still traded with Spain, often dropping anchor at Seville or at one of the Galician ports.[5] The presence of maritime inquisitors in Spanish ports resulted in the maintenance of a closer check on foreign ships. On March 29, 1575, Queen Elizabeth began a series of complaints against the imprisonment of Englishmen in Spain by the Inquisition.[6] The seizures continued, and in July the English printed a highly uncomplimentary book about the tribunal.[7] By November, Anglo-Spanish relations had reached a new low point when Philip dismissed the English ambassador.[8] Significantly, this dip in relations coincided with the attempts of William Bond, a Londoner, to recover a large amount of money owed him in Seville. He had given his power of attorney to a certain Lucas de Allende who brought action to recover the funds. Local inquisitors at Seville impounded the power of attorney and nullified the proceedings. This action was clearly irregular, and Quiroga and the king saw to it that the document was returned to Allende.[9] The case was brought up again, but lack of sympathy in the courts prevented Allende's client from obtaining any reimbursement.[10]

New arrests of English sailors in Spanish ports during the year of 1576 further incensed Queen Elizabeth,[11] who gave no evidence of trying to understand the causes of arrest. Several years before, on October 6, 1572, the Spanish ambassador to England, Antonio de Guares, had reached an agreement with Lord Burleigh concerning this delicate problem. Burleigh had accepted the following stipulations:

> (1) Any Englishman conveying heretical books, papers, or similar things shall be punished by the Holy Office, as usual; all of the guilty person's goods or those of his master are subject to confiscation. (2) Any English sailor pronouncing any heretical words shall be forever banished from Spain, and if subsequently found there he shall be proceeded against with all rigor. His own goods are subject to confiscation, but not those of his master . . . (3) Any English-

man living in Spain falls under the usual rules of the Holy Office.[12]

All the cases acted upon between the time of the Burleigh agreement and the end of the 1570's, when documents fail us, can be checked in accordance with the above points. For example, Elizabeth personally protested the seizure of two ships in the spring of 1576;[13] one of them, the *Red Lion,* was taken at the Spanish port of Santa María and the crew jailed because many prohibited books were on board. The second ship received clearance.[14]

In response to another appeal from the queen, Quiroga personally investigated the case of a certain Mr. Smith who was arrested at his commercial residence in Galicia because he denied the total virginity of Mary, the Mother of Christ. In Quiroga's opinion this inadmissible statement placed the man beyond hope of release, and with Philip's approval he informed the queen as much.[15]

While conducting the English seizures according to legal procedure, Quiroga heartily approved of the pope's proposed crusade against England in 1577 under the command of Pompeo and Prosper Colonna. Quiroga spoke of Queen Elizabeth as "that tyrant," urging Philip to grant a few concessions to obtain peace in the Netherlands so that the island attack could be made.[16] Quiroga saw, as Philip did not at the moment, that the greatest threat to the Spanish Empire was England.[17] Philip rejected the idea when Elizabeth sent a new ambassador early in January, 1577, to express the queen's good will and offer her cooperation for the pacification of Flanders. Philip called Quiroga and the Council of the Inquisition together on January 18 to explain that he desired to give full satisfaction to Elizabeth; the invasion was not even considered. Quiroga complied with the king's wishes and secured the immediate release of some Englishmen detained by the Inquisition whose heresy was open to doubt.[18]

On other subjects of complaint lodged by the English ambassador, the inquisitor general replied in a formal report to Philip. He recommended that the ambassador be denied permission to obtain private liberty and inquisitional immunity for those in Spain who followed the Anglican Church.[19] Secondly, the review of the case of Axtus Forbes of London, fined 55 ducats and sentenced to three years in prison, disclosed that the defendant merely said he obeyed Queen Elizabeth and would do so until death. Since neither treason to the

Spanish state nor heresy was involved, Quiroga agreed with the ambassador that he should go free. Thirdly, in the case of the prior of a monastery in Galicia who spoke deprecatingly of the queen, Quiroga responded that no one should say such things about a prince or queen, even though he or she might be of a different religion; therefore, since this was an ecclesiastical matter, the prior's superior should be ordered by Philip to punish the prior. Archbishop Quiroga's ecclesiastical jurisdiction did not extend to monastic orders in Galicia. Philip approved the suggestions as written.

These decisions clearly reflect the elderly administrator's Spanish allegiance and concept of justice. Deeply concerned about the welfare of the state, he opposed the introduction of any foreign sect which might eventually create schisms within the Spanish state.[20] He also regarded Elizabeth as a menace to Spain, but he rendered proper decisions in cases involving her subjects, valuing justice above all else.

Netherlands Complications

On February 12, 1577, by an instrument which has always borne the singularly inappropriate title of the Perpetual Edict, Philip's chief representative in the Netherlands, Don John of Austria, obligated Spanish troops to depart from the Netherlands within twenty days.[21] Don John revealed his intentions by arranging to depart by sea so that he could attack England and set up a Catholic kingdom with Mary of Scotland.[22] Quiroga, an Anglophobe and friend of Don John,[23] could neither interest Philip in the English danger nor in an invasion plan because the king's paramount consideration was the affair in Flanders.[24] The opposite was true with Quiroga.[25] He had been instrumental in securing the position for Don John in the Netherlands and had assisted in persuading Philip to remove the army from there, even though it caused a schism in the Royal Council of Castile.[26]

On the day the Perpetual Edict was promulgated, Antonio Pérez, the Marqués de los Vélez, and Cardinal Quiroga sent their formal opinion to Philip.[27] They stated it was impossible to carry on war in Flanders successfully and urged that an agreement be made with the "rebels," thereby enabling Spain to concentrate on England.[28] Philip, too, desired peace in Flanders, but not war with Elizabeth.[29]

Undaunted, the tireless Quiroga urged Philip to talk with the Catholic bishop from Ireland who was visiting him. He assured the king that the man could offer valuable information on the true de-

signs of "La Jezebel," as the primate now chose to refer to the English queen. A few months later Quiroga reminded Philip that Catholic Irish affairs would bear watching since the Irish could be used as a threat against the English if Philip would move in concert with the pope against Elizabeth.[30] Philip chose to ignore the appeals. The empty Portuguese throne and the questions surrounding the succession made all other considerations shrink by comparison.

The Portuguese Succession and New Political Policies

The unexpected death of King Sebastian of Portugal[31] gave Philip an opportunity to gain for Spain an extension of territory which would make the Spanish empire the largest the world had even seen.[32] All efforts previously to arrange a marriage for King Sebastian, the scion of the house of Avis, had been unavailing.[33] The last male heir, Cardinal Henry, was in his sixty-seventh year and bound by his clerical vows of celibacy; it was obvious that his reign could be only the briefest of stop-gaps.[34] Philip had forseen the possibility of such a situation in 1576 when he authorized Archbishop Quiroga to examine a paper prepared by Luis de Molina which would establish Philip's claim to the Portuguese throne. Quiroga accepted Molina's authority on the points of law in the case[35] and later advised Philip that his claim could be presented to the pope without shame.[36]

Even though this earlier approval was a matter of record, Quiroga and other members of the old Ruy Gómez peace party found that they were not wholeheartedly in support of the annexation at the time of King Sebastian's death. To militarize further would necessitate the recall to positions of influence of men who were factional enemies of the Gómez party. Philip had made his decision, however, and he was in no mood to accept the hesitancy of any ministers. Many signs augured ill for the peace party. Antonio Pérez fell deeper into disgrace,[37] and the bellicose Duke of Alva came back into active public service to organize an invading army.[38] Don John died October 1, 1578;[39] the Marqués de los Vélez was replaced as president of the Council of Castile;[40] Cardinal Granvelle came from Rome to Spain to prepare the nation financially for the push into Portugal.[41] Quiroga, left alone, informed the king that he had serious reservations about the ensuing developments but would dutifully obey orders.[42]

Philip II was destroying the last vestiges of the old party of Ruy Gómez. This marked more than the end of a ministry. Politically, it marked the termination of a whole policy or system of government,

the essential principle of which had been the maintainence of a status quo. The king threw it over for a different policy that was more positive, more daring, more imperial.[43] Among the leaders of the old party, Philip permitted only Quiroga to remain in office. The latter had a positive internal policy which still met the king's approval.

The death of Philip's queen, Anne of Austria, on October 26, 1580,[44] served to reunite the personal relations of Quiroga and Philip in their mutual bereavement, as the king's correspondence indicates.[45] Nevertheless, the grand inquisitor did not venture into foreign affairs again until the English problem came to the fore in 1586. After Drake sacked Santo Domingo and violated the churches, monasteries, and sacred places there, Philip visited Quiroga at Toledo. The archbishop made him a gift of two hundred thousand ducats, but stipulated that the money should be held by a third party and spent entirely upon troops to fight against England.[46] Again, in February, 1588, he set the example for other prelates by donating a hundred thousand ducats in preparation for the armada.[47] After the disastrous defeat, the stout-hearted inquisitor and the city of Toledo sent the monarch one hundred thousand and four hundred thousand ducats respectively, showing their loyalty in spite of the setback.[48] Nor was that the end of the matter. Determined to do all he could to weaken this Protestant nation which threatened to destroy the greatness of Spain, Quiroga gave lavishly toward shipbuilding in the years 1589[49] and 1594.[50]

As inquisitor general he successfully used his office to check any signs of the English heresy in his beloved country. One wonders what he, one of the earliest of the Spaniards to fear England, would have thought if he had lived to witness the sack of Cadiz by Essex and Raleigh in 1596.

VIII

CASTILIAN PROBLEMS

Spanish Intellectual Discord

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Before the great task could be undertaken to marshall the hosts of Catholicism against infidels and Protestants outside the limits of the Iberian peninsula, the Inquisition tried to make Castile itself free from any suspicion of heresy or disbelief. The history of the Inquisition during the early years of Philip II's reign is largely the record of the efforts to achieve this condition.

The task was comparatively simple, insofar as Protestantism was concerned. The energetic machinery of the Inquisition never permitted the doctrines of Luther and Calvin to establish themselves firmly there. The Spanish Protestants were neither numerous nor well organized and, except for the congregations of Valladolid and Seville, the number tried by the Inquisition was probably not over four hundred in all.[1] The greater part of the work of extirpating the two small

conventicles at Valladolid and Seville was done at two *autos-da-fe* in Valladolid on May 21 and October 8, 1559.[2]

Afterwards the process continued in much less wholesale fashion. The suspects were increasingly few, but Valladolid remained highly sensitive to the Protestant threat and heresy. Understandably, the Valladolid Inquisition was the subordinate tribunal of the Holy Office which prosecuted many well-known Spaniards during the early years of Quiroga's grand inquisitorship.

In the year 1572 the various religious orders in Spain were divided in thought and action. For every political and ecclesiastical vacancy of any importance, unceasing political pressure was brought to bear by the Dominicans, Jesuits, Jeronymites, Franciscans, or Augustinians.[3] Vacant university chairs, which were filled by vote of the students, always saw the strength of the separate orders behind their favorite candidates.[4]

To complicate matters further, each order was divided into a conservative and sometimes reactionary faction opposing the ideas of the order's more progressive thinkers. On an even larger scale, these groups blended with the two fairly well-defined camps in the intellectual panorama of Castile. Generally speaking, one was static and grounded in the sterile scholasticism of the late Middle Ages; the other was struggling with the new acquisitions of sixteenth century science and scholarship. In the written works of men in the latter group—such as those of Luis de León and Alonso Gudiel—one sees the flowering of medieval scholasticism and the restoration of the biblical sciences. They stressed the positive value of theological orientation and culture and the independence of the spirit within the stream of orthodoxy, while they opposed the conventional writings and pedantic ideas which were defended in some intellectual and moral circles and in juridical life.[5]

Trials for Heterodoxy

The religious struggle erupted at Valladolid when Bartolomé de Medina, Domingo Báñez, León de Castro, and others denounced as heretical the criticism of the Vulgate version of the Bible by some Augustinian scholars.[6] The Valladolid inquisitors arrested Luis de León, Alonso Gudiel, Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra, and Gaspar de Grajal in March, 1572. The action was a complete surprise at court,[7] and the Council of the Inquisition at Madrid stayed clear of the matter as long as Diego de Espinosa remained inquisitor general.

Therefore, the cases were legacies which came under the scrutiny of Quiroga soon after he took office. Underlying the personal animosity of the accusers for the accused[8] was the bigger issue of acceptance or rejection of various scriptural interpretations.[9] As in all cases, the right of the Inquisition to imprison was restricted; an accusation was not enough. If anyone was accused of heretical expressions and his heresy was not quite clear, the tribunal had to obtain the opinion of learned theologians or professors called *calificadores*, or qualifiers, who were not directly connected with the Inquisition. These *calificadores*, upon examining the evidence, would indicate whether or not the denouncements warranted further consideration. An affirmative opinion brought the accused before the Inquisition for trial.

On June 24, 1572, the famous *calificador*, Hernando del Castillo, condemned as pernicious and heretical the doctrine attributed to Gudiel concerning the literal meaning of diverse texts.[10] A Franciscan from Granada, Cristóbal de Vivero,[11] and Fray Alonso Carillo, prior of the abbey of Santa Cruz la Real at Salamanca,[12] testified that Gudiel gave a literal meaning to the sacred texts on the subject of Christ which precluded any prophetic and allegorical meanings. Gudiel's reply specifically stressed that the literal historical meaning which he gave to the scriptures was prophetic, owing to its derivation from the acts and words of Christ, and hence was according to true faith.[13] He also urged that the works of Solomon be understood accordingly.[14] Many Augustinians tried to help Gudiel by writing to the inquisitors at Valladolid,[15] but Diego de Zúñiga and Gaspar de Aragón, two friars from the monastery of Saint Augustine at Toledo, testified against Gudiel and further complicated the situation.[16] Before the case was settled, the unfortunate Gudiel died in prison on April 15, 1573. The Valladolid Inquisition sent word to the various Augustinian houses on May 19, 1573, that Gudiel was in error and died outside the faith.[17]

A similar decision on virtually the same points had been handed down three months earlier, on February 26, 1573, stating that many propositions of Gaspar de Grajal were heretical and would do irreparable damage to the cause of religion.[18] As in the cases of Grajal and Gudiel, so also in the trial of Luis de León heated controversies developed over the interpretation of the Vulgate edition approved by the Council of Trent, particularly on points of Jewish law.[19] Luis de León drew a distinction between the Vulgate as written by Saint Jerome and the printed texts, which often differed from one another

in details. However, he preferred the Hebrew original above all.[20]

Fray Gabriel Montoya, prior of the Augustinian monastery at Toledo, told the inquisitors at Valladolid that, in his opinion, certain remarks on the Vulgate made by Luis de León in the course of a lecture were of heretical savor.[21] The value of this opinion is somewhat diminished by the fact that Montoya had a personal grudge against Luis de León because the latter had helped prevent Montoya's election to a university chair some four or five years previously. The repercussions of the election fight placed in bold relief the split in the Augustinian order. A former Augustinian student of Luis de León's, Francisco de Arboledo, furnished Montoya with hearsay information against his old teacher at the trial.[22] The case against León was not strong but the slow-moving machinery of the Inquisition carefully evaluated all the evidence. Throughout the trial over seventy scholars and theologians, mostly Augustinians, came to his defense.[23]

Gaspar de Quiroga did not officially assume his duties as inquisitor general until May, 1573, after Grajal and Gudiel had been declared guilty. Within the next twelve months Luis de León became exasperated with the inactivity of the tribunal at Valladolid and appealed directly to Quiroga.[24] Within a short time the Madrid office issued instructions to the Valladolid judges to be just with the defendant.[25] The case dragged on until Quiroga and his council, on May 19, 1576, suggested that a decision be rendered.[26] The evidence was summarized, and the Valladolid inquisitors took a vote on the case on September 28, 1576. Four of the judges, Francisco de Menchaca, Andres de Alava, Luis Tello Maldonado, and Francisco de Alborñoz, voted that he should be put to a moderate amount of torture and then the court should judge accordingly. Doctor Grijalvo de Mercado and Doctor Frechilla took a more lenient view, recommending that he be reprimanded for discussing such a grave matter as the authority of the Vulgate at an unsuitable time before an unsuitable audience. Furthermore, they suggested that he should be told by his bishop to occupy himself with matters of general interest, that he should cease lecturing, and that his Spanish version of the *Song of Solomon* should be seized.[27]

Even the milder judgment of Grijalvo and Frechilla seemed excessive to Quiroga and the Council of the Inquisition. The grand inquisitor adhered to the important distinction made by the Augustinians between a dogmatic proposition and one not defined. He acknowledged that in the case of an undefined proposition a Catholic

was free to maintain an argument for or against such a proposition according to his reason.[28] Quiroga and the council curtly ordered their deputies at Valladolid to acquit Luis de León with a warning to be more careful in the future, and to withdraw from circulation the manuscript copy of his Spanish version of the *Song of Solomon.* These orders were quickly obeyed. In addition, the inquisitors presented Luis with an official certificate of acquittal and an order on the accountant of the University of Salamanca instructing the accountant to pay him his arrears in salary from the date of the arrest until the chair was officially vacated.[29]

The matter did not end there. Pressure from Quiroga and the Holy Office secured the release of Martínez de Cantalapiedra in the following year.[30] This unqualified support of these Augustinians by Quiroga definitely placed him with that group of friends and poets aligned against León de Castro and many of the Dominicans who, as Francisco Sánchez el Brocense said, still preferred the old method of eating acorns although the use of wheat had been discovered.[31] Members of this group who desired to clarify and extend fundamental dogma and introduce the scientific spirit into the training program of the monasteries and universities were Francisco de Salinas, El Brocense, Grajal, Pedro de Portocarrero, Arias Montano, Diego de Loarte, Pedro Chacón, Alonso de Espinosa, and Juan de Almeida.[32]

Quiroga further revealed his beliefs when he protected Arias Montano from Dominican attacks during the years 1575 to 1579. León de Castro varied his denunciations by attacking Montano's *Biblia Regia* (Royal Bible), a work which Philip II had supported. De Castro, in his zeal for the Vulgate, filled Spain, Flanders, and Italy with denunciations against the *Biblia Regia* and its editor. Montano left Flanders and hastened to Spain by way of Italy to defend himself. Finding much agitation on the subject in Rome, he tarried there and wrote to Quiroga to protect him.[33] He was not prosecuted, nor were his commentaries condemned during his lifetime.[34]

The next related episode occurred at a theological meeting in Salamanca on January 21, 1582.[35] On that day a Jesuit, Padre Prudencio de Montemayor, defended a point concerning the doctrine of predestination and the merit of Christ during his life on earth. Luis de León was not an adversary of the Jesuits, and when Montemayor's words were not clearly heard in the uproar of the meeting he intervened and repeated them. The doctrines maintained by Mon-

temayor were ascribed to Fray Luis and declared sheer heresy.[36] Although he had never taught nor upheld the thesis in question, he upheld Montemayor's right of opinion. In these words he explained his position:

> I was moved to do so because it seemed to me that the Dominicans, in their hostility to the Jesuits, were attempting to crush them, and also because it appeared to me a great absurdity to condemn the doctrine as heretical.[37]

This time Luis de León was not arrested, and no prosecuting counsel was appointed. The Valladolid judge, Juan de Arrese, merely suggested that Luis de León should be severely reprimanded and called upon to express publicly his regret for having subscribed to heretical doctrines which were not his. Mitigated as it was, the suggestion of the Valladolid judge seemed too severe for Quiroga. Nothing was done until February 3, 1584, when he summoned Luis de León to Toledo and privately rebuked him in a kind, charitable manner, advising him not to uphold such views.[38] Fray Luis promised obedience and was released. Once again Quiroga had mercifully intervened to aid a friend.[39]

Francisco Sánchez el Brocense, an intense and learned scholar in the group favored by Quiroga, is further proof that Spain had enough intellectual strength to sustain a dynamic school of thought. His interest in cosmography and astronomy came from the astronomical science which abounded in classical writings. He often discussed the Ptolemaic classical system of the universe and the Copernican system, but carefully avoided pronouncing upon the latter.[40] Nevertheless, he ran afoul of the Valladolid inquisitors in 1584, when he questioned Aristotle's definition of rhetoric,[41] saying the Stagirite did not know what he was talking about.[42] Fray Mancio of Corpus Christi College at Salamanca challenged this upon the grounds that Saint Thomas Aquinas was founded upon Aristotle and the faith upon Saint Thomas. Mancio argued that to condemn Aristotle was to speak ill of the faith. Sánchez replied that he considered Mancio's statement heresy; moreover, if it could be shown that his faith was founded upon Saint Thomas, he would look for another faith.[43]

As a result of this statement, the Valladolid tribunal began to move against El Brocense on January 7, 1584. During the trial Sánchez urged that the theologians should conciliate the two classical philosophers, Plato and Aristotle.[44] All the while he did not question what had been decreed by the Church; he merely affirmed that in mat-

ters of philosophy and history, sacred and profane, some theologians were most ignorant and needed instruction.[45] In view of such testimony, his friends in the Holy Office at Madrid, Quiroga and Pedro de Portocarrero,[46] saw to it that he was only reprimanded and released. On August 29 they warned him that he should henceforth speak with discretion to avoid scandalizing those with whom he conversed; failure to do so would necessarily invoke more stringent measures.[47]

Meanwhile, Quiroga induced the Supreme Council of the Inquisition at Madrid to order a reexamination of the case of the long-dead Gudiel on June 2, 1584.[48] He demanded that Hernando de Castillo, the *calificador* who had condemned Gudiel's doctrines as heretical in 1572, declare again upon the literal meaning of diverse texts written by Gudiel.[49] Interestingly enough, Castillo cleared Gudiel of heresy with some very pointed observations. He said that statements of Saint Thomas Aquinas were open to discussion. Extreme caution, he added, needed to be taken not to err in interpretation, but one was not necessarily heretical who questioned Saint Thomas.[50] The Valladolid judges were so embarrassed that they adopted a resolution to move henceforth with the greatest care whenever Augustinians were involved.[51] The Valladolid inquisitors intimated that Quiroga was the protector of the Augustinian Order and of those with Augustinian leanings. Such was the case, but only to a certain point. During the second trial of Luis de León the testimony shows that the Augustinians had split upon doctrinal topics and reform in 1579, with Luis de León the leading advocate of more elastic interpretations.[52]

Quiroga's stand upon the topics of grace, free will, and predestination, around which the controversies centered, became known from his attitude toward the Baian propositions. Michael Baius, an Augustinian, was professor of theology and chancellor at the University of Louvain during most of Quiroga's years as inquisitor general. In accordance with the most rigid Augustinianism, Baius maintained the utter corruption of human nature and the extinction of free will, together with a belief in predestination.[53] Besides these principal interpretations, two others were especially anathema to Cardinal Quiroga. Baius' belief that even the Mother of Jesus was not free from hereditary and actual sin ran afoul of Quiroga's expressed policy of condemning those who spoke against Mary in such a manner.[54] The Baian doctrine that no penance was effectual for the justification of the grace of God, through Christ, denied the value of Quiroga's sacra-

mental emphasis. When the professor also stated that jurisdiction came to the bishops directly from God and not from the pope, he stepped too far for Quiroga. At the forceful suggestion of the inquisitor general, the Universities of Alcalá and Salamanca censured some of his propositions despite resistance by some members of the two faculties.[55] Next, acting through Philip II and the Spanish ambassador at Rome, Quiroga obtained a bull from Pope Gregory XIII on January 29, 1580, condemning the propositions as heretical. Philip and Quiroga charged a Jesuit, Francisco de Toledo, with the task of publishing the bull in Louvain and inducing Baius to submit. The Jesuit was successful in his mission and, in March, Baius admitted that the rejected propositions were actually to be found in his printed books and were justly condemned.[56]

Quiroga's Index

The experience with Baius and the influence of his writings and doctrines were taken in Spain as evidence that all possible vigilance should be exercised to exclude non-Catholic beliefs if Spanish unity was to be maintained.[57] The responsibility for the preparation and enforcement of an Index in Spain rested with the Spanish Inquisition, and none issued under papal authority was accepted as binding within the Spanish dominions.[58]

Actually, work had begun on a new Index for Spain even before Quiroga took office. The tribunals, the prelates, and the universities were called upon for information relating to heretical material. As it was received, Quiroga's office sent it to Maestro Francisco Sancho, who selected from the University of Salamanca a board to frame these materials for the new Index. In 1572, at the time of the explosive cases of Luis de León, Grajal, and the others, Francisco Sancho left strife-ridden Salamanca and recommended Diego de Vera as his successor on the Index.[59] The impatient Inquisition charged the theologians of the university with the prosecution of the work, urging a speedy completion in view of its importance.[60] One can well imagine the disputes that took place among the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Jeronymites over points of doctrine as they attempted to establish the orthodox from the unorthodox, thereby delaying the result. In 1574 we hear that the Index was expected to be completed shortly. In 1575 the licentiate Valverde, who was then in charge of the matter, was ordered to complete it.[61] In 1578 it was submitted to the universities for their revision, and in 1579 they

were asked for their opinions on the general rules to accompany it.[62] These requests coincided with the Baian controversy and the schism that developed among the Augustinians and between the monastic orders and university faculties. Again there was a delay as the lists were reshuffled to conform to the new demands Quiroga made in view of the variety of opinions prevalent at the time.[63]

The result of the careful and prolonged labor was the Prohibitory Index of Quiroga which was issued in 1583 at the specific order of Quiroga on the strength of his apostolic authority.[64] The edict of Quiroga on May 22, 1583, preceded the Index and explained its general purpose. All works containing false, reproved, or suspected doctrines of which the Inquisition had notice were prohibited. No one could legally read, use, print, have printed, buy, or sell books in the catalog. These regulations applied to any manuscript or book unless Mateo Vázquez, secretary of the Inquisition, gave a license for its clearance. Quiroga pointed out to the readers of the edict and Index that there was a vast increase in prohibited books, and the names of many great persons of Christianity appeared on the list, such as Thomas More, Juan Rossense, Gerónimo Osorio, Don Francisco de Borja, Fray Luis de Granada, and Juan de Ávila. He emphasized that the appearance of such authors did not mean they had fallen from favor in the Church, but that some of their works had been written in such phraseology that they could be or were misused, misquoted, and misinterpreted.[65]

The Prohibitory Index made no reference to the Papal Index of Trent, but the ten rules of the latter Index were incorporated into the fourteen rules of Quiroga's. In the Spanish rules the authority of the Inquisition was substituted throughout for that of bishops and theological faculties. Books prohibited in one version were held prohibited in all versions.[66] The schedule of prohibited works in various languages appeared by folios as follows: Latin, folios 7 to 63; Romance (Spanish), folios 63 to 76; French, folios 76 to 80; Flemish and English, folios 81 to 93; names of heretics, innovators, and heretical leaders, folios 94 to 96. There were 6,350 copies of this Index printed.[67]

Rather than cause many works to disappear from circulation because of a few heretical or misleading sentences, Quiroga followed the Prohibitory Index with an Expurgatory Index in the following year of 1584. It was the first of its kind, giving the expurgations necessary to make current the books enumerated, and it is a tribute to a

man who appreciated the value of good scholarship that he should have introduced this innovation rather than condemn utterly scores of fine books. By his efforts two extremes, zeal for the faith and proper prudence, were reconciled in the best possible way for the Spaniards of the day. The order of the text was alphabetical by names of the authors,[68] and the name of Erasmus occupied fifty-five quarto pages, outstripping all other entries.[69] This Expurgatory Index was published first in all the principal towns; later, the people in the parishes were convoked by proclamation, and it was read to them after a sermon in the same way the Edict of Faith had been presented.[70] The priests announced that all persons having prohibited books were to deliver them at once to the nearest tribunal or give them to a person designated in each town; those having books to be expurgated could do so in their own homes provided they submitted them to the proper authorities within six months for signed approval of the corrections.[71] There was no great effort made to enforce the censorship, and several extensions of the time limit represented an attempt to encourage self-conformity.[72]

This evidence of leniency continued for the remainder of the century. The inquisitor Pacheco relates that many books published during this period not included in the Expurgatory Index were found to have heretical sayings. In 1586 the theological faculties of Salamanca, Alcalá, and Valladolid received reports concerning these omissions and were asked by the inquisitor general to consider what should be done.[73] The development of an all-inclusive enforcement policy was interrupted by the jurisdictional struggles between Philip II and the papacy which consumed the energies of some of the best thinkers in Spain. As a result, the Inquisition destroyed very few books under Quiroga's leadership.[74]

IX

JURISDICTIONAL CONTROVERSIES

The Legacy of Carranza

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The Carranza controversy was one of the many jurisdictional struggles between Philip II and the papacy. Quiroga had received the Carranza case as a legacy when he became inquisitor general, and his position between these two determined antagonists was an unavoidable one.

Bartolomé de Carranza y Miranda, archbishop of Toledo, had advocated reform within the Church, but certainly he was no sympathizer with Protestantism as his career in England under Philip and Mary Tudor attested.[1] For personal reasons the inquisitor general, Hernando de Valdés, accused Carranza of heresy.[2] Although he was a close friend of Philip II, Carranza was tried as a Protestant heretic despite the protests of the Council of Trent and the anathemas of the pope.[3] The pope demanded that Carranza be tried in Rome, but Val-

dés refused to yield.[4] In short, the Carranza case became one of relative powers; the papal court at Rome claimed jurisdiction in opposition to the Inquisition of Spain. Finally, to uphold the hierarchical theory of political and ecclesiastical rule, Philip yielded, and Carranza was sent to Rome.[5] However, the tactics of the Spanish court and the Inquisition caused interminable delays[6] until eventually the last of three successive popes came into the celebrated case. By that time Quiroga was inquisitor general, and he endorsed a report to Philip which called the case scandalous and inconvenient.[7] Philip maintained his pressure despite such remonstrances, and after seventeen years Carranza was condemned by the pope to certain penances.[8] Surprised at the decision,[9] the European capitals agreed that it was a triumph for Philip and the Spanish Inquisition.[10] Although Quiroga favored Carranza, one must agree with the following words of Merriman in summing up the case:

> The main fact that demands our attention here is that the affair committed Philip irrevocably to the cause of the Holy Office against all who attacked it both at home and abroad, as the strongest bulwark of the omnipotence of the crown. From that time onward its "super-eminence" was doubly assured . . .[11]

After the death of Carranza in 1577, as already stated, Philip nominated Quiroga to fill the vacant position of archbishop of Toledo. To the new archbishop, as much as to anyone else in Spain, must go the credit for preserving Carranza's reputation as a serious reformer and orthodox champion of the Church.[12] Acting upon direct orders from Quiroga, Dr. Pedro de Salazar y de Mendoza, a penitentiary of the cathedral of Toledo, wrote a sympathetic biography of Carranza entitled *Vida de Fray D. Bartolome de Carranza y Miranda*[13] which circulated widely in manuscript form.[14] After Quiroga's arrival in Toledo, he ordered Carranza's portrait to be placed with those of his predecessors, erected a tomb to his memory, and performed solemn obsequies for him which lasted a fortnight.[15] What Philip thought of this is not known, but certainly it could not have received his open approval. He did not answer the letter he received from Quiroga informing him that Carranza's relatives and servants were in great need and required aid. Quiroga requested that Philip donate four thousand ducats to provide for the family's immediate needs and six thousand ducats to repair their house in Alcalá.[16] Requests such as these cannot be considered the product of a man inexperienced in

relations with his monarch; Quiroga already had devoted thirty years to service in public and ecclesiastical affairs, and during half of those years he held positions on direct appointment from the king. Quiroga was not a servile politician devoid of personal opinions or will.

Philip had not made a mistake in choosing his man. He had in Quiroga a man who could be trusted to use the inquisitional institution to maintain Philip's conception of the purity of the faith and to work for greater unity among his subjects. A man of lesser conviction and will would not have been acceptable. At the same time, the monarch kept full control of the Inquisition.[17] He appointed and dismissed the inquisitors, and gave them definite orders concerning the discharge of their functions.[18]

The years under Quiroga were significant ones for the Holy Office. So satisfied was Philip with its work in pushing internal reform that he placed more confidence in it than in his royal officials, who were limited by local laws and customs throughout his kingdoms. The Inquisition was the one tribunal in Philip's domains against which no restrictive local rights had accumulated because of its special character of creation in 1478.[19] Seizing upon this favorable legal condition, Philip consciously expanded inquisitorial authority even in the face of internal turmoil throughout his realm.

Clashes with Royal Authorities

Jurisdictional struggles arose between the Inquisition and royal authorities, but in almost every case Philip II favored the former against the latter. In his zeal to carry through the Morisco reform, Quiroga experienced jurisdictional disputes with the viceroy of Catalonia in 1575[20] and with secular judges in Murcia and Valencia the following year.[21] Quiroga personally believed that the royal judges were apathetic and that the Holy Office should step into the vacuum to protect Spain from inefficient administration;[22] on all borderline cases he recommended that the serious problem of heresy should be considered as paramount, thereby extending inquisitorial control.[23] Philip was agreeable to the proposal as early as July 7, 1577, at which time he upheld the Inquisition in its case of overlapping jurisdiction against the Council of Aragon and the Valencian viceroy.[24]

In Granada the *Justicia* lost many ancient rights to the Holy Office, and the Royal Council of Castile complained to Philip that such occurrences should be forestalled in the future. They henceforth refused

to permit an individual to be concurrently a town *regidor* (city official) and a member of the Inquisition.[25] The *regidores* in the Canaries faced the same problem,[26] and the Royal Council begged for some clear-cut rules regarding all areas of jurisdiction.[27]

Philip did not feel constrained to comply with their request until September, 1583, when he had Quiroga draw up a document listing specifically those legal and land areas wherein he wished an enlargement of the inquisitorial privileges and jurisdiction. This document, together with the king's reply, formed the decisive statement of jurisdictional policy for the remainder of Philip's reign.[28] The usual formality of applying to the pope for approval, and receipt of such permission, duly followed.[29]

By the preceding action the king granted the Inquisition the right to handle the punishment of its own members, regardless of the secular nature of the crime; it received express jurisdiction to halt any specific passage from Aragon into Béarn or France, if difficulty should arise; familiars and other members of the Inquisition were partially exempted from quartering royal guests and soldiers; in the New World salaries were to be fixed so as to make inquisitors independent enough of secular pay to exercise genuine authority; the inquisitorial tribunals of Barcelona, Mallorca, and Cerdagne, recognizably in bad financial straits, respectively received royal grants of one thousand ducats of rent per year, a royal pension, and eight hundred ducats from the rents of vacated abbeys in Barcelona. Moreover, with the papacy accepting responsibility, the members of the Inquisition were promised pensions after their years of service were completed.[30]

Philip did not concede all of Quiroga's requests. He refused the Inquisition the privilege of prosecuting royal judges who shirked their duty. In Andalusia, Galicia, and Viscaya, the Holy Office did not receive the power to act against foreigners who were merely suspected of heresy in that area, although Philip forbade anyone to give lodgings to such suspects. The inquisitor general was denied permission to appoint inquisitorial members to vacancies in specified churches and colleges in order to augment their income, but Philip granted some prebends to those nominated by Quiroga. Lastly, the king denied the tribunal the authority to deal directly with Marco Antonio Colonna and the Sicilian Cortes for disregarding rights of the Inquisition. Instead, Philip sent a direct communi-

cation to Colonna and the Cortes demanding that they cease hampering the tribunal.[31]

Only in this last request did Philip refuse the Inquisition without proposing an adequate counter measure. It was in Sicily that Philip encountered the most serious difficulties in erecting the type of well-ordered despotism, managed from afar, that he held dear. All classes of society, barons, clerics, and cities, united in the Cortes, resisted his viceregal rule.[32] To hold their own, the viceroys kept the administration of justice largely to themselves, appointing the judges for only two years and reappointing only those who pleased them.[33] As it extended its jurisdiction in Sicily, the Inquisition drew its local familiars from all classes of society[34] and soon found that the tribunal was fighting the viceregal administration on one hand[35] and purging its own ranks on the other.[36] Quiroga commissioned the bishop of Pati, a close friend,[37] to conduct an inspection in the spring of 1577, which resulted in the removal of all the Sicilian inquisitors and many of the familiars. The chief inquisitors, Bernardo Gasca and a Dr. Carvajal, were replaced by Don Juan Derejos; the number of familiars was drastically reduced, and the reformed Inquisition was instructed to do whatever might be necessary to preserve and defend the kingdom.[38] At this point Quiroga sought agreement and attempted to initiate peaceful relations with Colonna,[39] who refused the overtures and complained without justification that there were twenty-five thousand familiars working for the Inquisition, including all the nobles, rich men, and criminals on the island.[40] Relations between the viceregal and inquisitorial authorities declined rapidly. When the inquisitors checked upon heretical books and doctrine, the secular officials questioned their jurisdiction and permitted religious crimes to go unpunished. Quiroga complained to Philip, stressing the importance of sacramental conformity and observance, particularly absolution.[41] Before another year passed, the old reformer realized that Colonna would never place spiritual problems before temporal considerations. He wrote to Philip again, stating the fundamental concept behind his entire program: the Inquisition could save Spain and its empire, whereas in other areas, such as France, the increasing temporality would bring doom.[42] Finally, while at Badajoz on October 3, 1584, Philip attempted a compromise by creating a four-man board consisting of two inquisitors and two viceregal delegates to settle disputes.[43] Quiroga's document listing

several instances in which members of the Inquisition had been ridiculed and defamed by the Sicilian viceroy and royal officials weighed heavily with Philip.[44] He removed Colonna as viceroy[45] and upheld the Inquisition in the stormy case of Antonio Bracelon, a friend of the Colonna family, who was justly accused of aiding a heretic to escape from Sicily.[46]

The new viceroy, Don Diego Enríquez, was neither a friend of, nor adherent to, the Inquisition.[47] The usual problems involving noncooperation between the secular courts and the Inquisition filled the documents of the period.[48] Another decided change in favor of the Inquisition occurred in 1586 when Quiroga acquired the presidency of the Council of Italy upon the death of Cardinal Granvelle. Quiroga appointed his sympathizers to the four-man board of disputes,[49] thereby enabling the Inquisition to secure jurisdiction over all disputed cases thenceforth.[50] In 1589, it was decided by the board of disputes and the king that the temporal jurisdiction of the Inquisition in Sicily should be equal to the one in Castile.[51] Sicily constituted one of Philip's many cares, and he willingly turned the conduct of it over to the trusted Quiroga. Unfortunately for the king, the prelate was able neither to subdue permanently the anti-Spanish feeling nor to uproot completely the ancient liberties, and the old problems arose again four months after the termination of his period of control.[52]

In marked contrast to his interest in Sicilian matters, Quiroga gave only perfunctory attention to the Spanish possessions of Naples and Milan. He recommended some Castilian ecclesiastics for appointments in Naples and the vicinity,[53] leased Venetian ships as wheat carriers upon Philip's orders,[54] and pressed hard for the collection of the *Santa Cruzada,* a special ecclesiastical assessment paid to the king.[55] The *Cruzada,* originally, had been granted by the pope to the Spanish kings as a subsidy to help maintain troops to fight the infidels, or Moslems. Long after the original need was gone, the *Cruzada* continued to be renewed, and by 1573 Gregory XIII considered it as being granted to the king for the purpose of promoting Catholicism and pious works. A plenary indulgence was granted to those who furthered the purpose, and the money received in gratitude in Spain was granted to the king by the pope. The licentiate Salazar, a member of the Council of the Inquisition, was appointed to the office of Commissary General of the *Santa Cruzada* in June, 1582,[56] thereby bringing that office under closer surveillance. Efforts

to introduce the Inquisition into Naples and Milan met with failure. Philip and Quiroga considered its establishment an inseparable adjunct to the solidification of the king's authority in his Italian dominions; but the intensity of local hatred, the opposition of the popes, and the support of the papal authority by the Jesuits proved a sufficient barrier to any extension.[57]

Quiroga, Philip II, and the Papacy

The struggles between the Spanish monarch and the papacy frequently revolved around Quiroga and the Inquisition. Since his first years as inquisitor general, Quiroga had carefully checked with the papacy and the monarch on all questions dealing with jurisdictional rights.[58] Even though the papacy often took the liberty to embarrass Spanish interests,[59] Quiroga informed Philip that the pope should be kept as content as possible.[60] His opinions coincided with those of Melchor Cano, who penned an elaborate *consulta* to Philip plainly stating in practical fashion the relation of Spain to the papacy. Cano reminded Philip that the pope was to all Christians what Philip was to all Spaniards, and dealings with the pope required the greatest prudence and care because he was the one spiritual Father to whom reverence and respect were due. If he were weak in his personal aspects, he would answer for that to his Savior, but he remained the vicar of Christ. If Philip challenged the authority of Rome, Cano related, he would touch the keys of his own authority where it might be most dangerous, thus shattering the harmony, concord, and respect of traditional authority in the minds of men so thoroughly that the Catholic Reformation would be destroyed. An attempted change would be a human error which in this case would do harm to justice, scandalize religion, and disorient the true Christians. Cano's most telling point reminded Philip that the bulls of Rome were sometimes necessary, especially in case of war, to control public opinion and secure the good will of men. Like all else in life, the Spanish scholar observed, great good and great evil existed side by side.[61]

The mutual dependence of the Spanish monarchy and the papacy was fully realized on both sides;[62] in theory, Quiroga always maintained that the delegation of his inquisitorial powers came from the pope.[63] Nevertheless, once the authority had been delegated, Quiroga guarded the powers from lapse or recall. On one occasion, when the deputation representing the kingdom of Aragon was excommunicated by the inquisitors of Saragossa, Pope Gregory XIII commissioned

Quiroga to review the affair. Quiroga rejected the commission, asserting that the appellate jurisdiction already belonged to him. Philip wrote to the ambassador at Rome for Quiroga and obtained papal consent to continue such a routing of appeals.[64] The same situation arose in the case of Don Francisco de Minuta, and the pope again revoked his bulls to please Philip.[65]

In his discussion of the Jean de Berri case, Ludwig von Pastor attempts to show that Quiroga did not respect papal authority. Berri, a Frenchman on trial for heresy by the Inquisition at Saragossa, escaped to Rome and was freed on bail by the Congregation of the Roman Inquisition. Don Juan de Zúñiga, at that time viceroy of Naples, kidnapped Berri and sent him to Spain. The papal court was aflame.[66] Pastor maintains that Quiroga refused to release Berri and defied the pope.[67] Such was not the case. Berri was delivered directly to Saragossa without either Quiroga or the Inquisition having knowledge of the seizure and return. Upon hearing about the incident, the inquisitor general informed the papal court that Berri would be returned in the first galley available.[68] Berri was duly delivered to Rome, and when Quiroga formally asked for jurisdiction in the case[69] the Frenchman was returned by the Roman Congregation to Spain in June, 1583. In strict conformity with the channeling of inquisitorial procedure, Berri was returned to the tribunal at Saragossa on August 3, 1583, and nothing more was heard about the case.[70]

From 1582 onward, the papal nuncios were largely occupied with the question of inquisitorial appellate jurisdiction.[71] Many Spanish grievances arose from the exercise of papal jurisdiction in Spain—a jurisdiction which clashed with the extension of Spanish royal power. But, since the faculties of the Inquisition were solely a delegation from the Holy See, papal claims to final control of its operations were theoretically unassailable and had to be handled by Philip and Quiroga as discreetly as possible. The supreme jurisdiction of the Holy See was admitted, although the unrelenting pressure of Philip threatened to widen the gap between theory and practice by extending royal control over the Society of Jesus in Spain, an organization responsible to the pope.[72]

Spanish Jesuits and Reform

Beginning with the pontificate of Sixtus V, a great change appeared in Spanish-papal relations. The close bond between the two courts which had made possible the inauguration of the reform

movement began to fall apart along old political lines; indeed, the papal attitude toward the various projects of the Spanish king and the Inquisition was a powerful factor in creating this condition.[73]

When Philip II recognized the new state of affairs, his policy altered accordingly. He instituted more vigorous measures to force the papacy into line with Spanish interests. Besides taking a more active interest in ecclesiastical appointments, he planned to acquire greater control over the institutions subordinated to papal jurisdiction which were operating in Spain. The first and most obvious organization to come under this latter category was the Society of Jesus in Spain. It was known that Sixtus V was not so well disposed toward it as had been his predecessor,[74] and Philip's dislike of many of the Spanish members made it a logical target.[75]

As early as October 19, 1576, Quiroga had reported to Philip concerning an inquisitorial trial of one of the Jesuits who had resided in Argel.[76] Philip jumped from the specific to the general and advocated a visitation and reform of religious orders in Spain in spite of strong papal protestations.[77] The reforms dealt with pious living, educational emphasis, and doctrinal matters which Quiroga had stressed in his Toledan reforms. Padre Pedro de Rivadeneira, a Spanish Jesuit, considered them well-intentioned but indiscreet.[78] In 1580 a group of Spanish Jesuits organized a movement within the Society for the purpose of diminishing the authority of General Aquaviva at Rome and thereby making the four different provinces of the Society in Spain more independent of his control.[79] The plan lay dormant until four Jesuits were arrested for distributing heretical books in 1587.[80] This was all the discontented Spanish Jesuits and Philip needed; they charged that nothing short of reform would enable the Spanish members of the order to remain free from heretical pressures.[81]

After Aquaviva explained the seriousness of the arrests to him, Sixtus V ordered Speciani, the papal nuncio to Spain, to confer with Cardinal Quiroga about the case. Apparently Quiroga and the other members of the Council of the Inquisition intended to let the cases take their due course; they evidenced irritation at the steps taken by Aquaviva to encourage papal intercession.[82] Quiroga was following the precedent established in cases such as Jean de Berri's, whereby appeals should be heard by the inquisitor general.[83] The pope ordered him to restore the books he had taken and not to proceed with the trial of the four Jesuits.[84] While this letter was still on its way,

two Jesuits carrying safe conducts from the provincial of the order passed through Valladolid on their way to Rome. From there they intended to proceed to Transylvania. Jerónimo de Acosta had received several blank sheets bearing the provincial's signature, and on one of these he had written the safe conduct for the two padres, retaining the original himself.[85] What the questionable passports had to do with the subsequent detention of the padres in Valladolid is hard to determine, but it caused Philip to forbid Jesuits to leave Spanish soil unless properly cleared.[86]

Quiroga received the royal decree on May 7, 1587. He promptly ordered the authorities of the Inquisition to warn the provincial of the Jesuits not to allow any of his subjects to pass the frontiers of Spain without first informing the Inquisition about the person travelling and the object of his journey. According to the inquisitorial directive, any violation of this order would cause the guilty parties to incur excommunication, and proceedings would be taken against them just as if they had interfered with the authority of the Inquisition.[87]

This injunction, clearly within the jurisdiction of the Inquisition as established in the 1583 extension of authority, kept all Jesuits within Spain.[88] The vice-provincial of Toledo, Francisco de Porres, forwarded news of the injunction to Aquaviva, who took care that it fell into the hands of the pope. Sixtus again warned Quiroga that he should comply with his earlier order to return the confiscated books and send the proceedings of the trial to Rome. Otherwise, he would depose him and take away his cardinalate. Quiroga negotiated as usual. He returned the books and certain confiscated bulls to the Jesuits. On the other hand, the proceedings of the four Jesuits were not sent to Rome. Between the spring of 1587 and March, 1588, Quiroga wrote a series of letters to the pope and to Cardinals Rusticucci, Savelli, Castagna, and Deza, justifying his proceedings and expressing his deep reverence for the Holy See. Appreciating his own political position, Sixtus accepted the explanations and neither excommunicated Quiroga nor continued his demands to review the case. In the meantime the trial went on in secret and in April, 1588, a sentence of acquittal was pronounced.[89]

Aquaviva tried to bring about a reconciliation with the Inquisition by having Sixtus revoke the principal obstacle, the Jesuits' power to absolve from heresy insofar as it applied to notorious heretics.[90] The

Inquisition lifted its prohibition on Jesuits leaving Spain at the request of the vice-provincial Porres; all that was now forbidden were journeys to Transylvania and other heretical countries.[91] The compromise settled Quiroga's papal difficulties, but the Jesuit reform party showered the Inquisition with memorials begging for changes in the constitutions of the order.[92] The inquisitor general forwarded them to the king. His expressed opinions, together with those of the other members of the Holy Office, reflected sympathy with the reformers.[93] Philip sent a report to the pope, asking for a change in the constitutions of the order.[94] The reformers of the Society, led by Dionisio Vásquez and Enrico Enríquez, met with success at the provincial congregation of Castile, where the delegates were more directly affected by the recent events. With the support of the provincial, Villalba, they had an excellent chance to achieve their ends through a proposed Spanish convention.[95] However, Aquaviva refused to permit any national meeting and called a general congregation of the entire order as a counter move.[96] Simultaneously, he removed from their positions of authority in the order Villalba, Vásquez, and other reformers who thought as they did. The Roman congregation of procurators rejected the requests of the provincial meeting of Castile.[97]

Philip II, on March 21, 1587, ordered his ambassador in Rome to secure papal approval for an inquisitor or bishop to inspect all the orders in Spain.[98] Pope Sixtus agreed, but out of consideration for the Jesuits he did not expressly mention them in the brief; general permission was given for the visitation of all the orders.[99] Porres, fearing for the Jesuits, begged the king and Quiroga to permit two cardinals to make the inspection, if it had to be done at all. His appeal was in vain. On June 9, 1588, Jerónimo Manrique, bishop of Cartagena, received the brief forwarded to him by Quiroga. His instructions stated he was to discover why the Jesuits differed from other orders in the matter of dress and exterior ceremonial; why they did not accept any stipends for masses and sermons; why they had no office in choir; what was the purpose of the difference in their vows; what was the reason for expulsion from the order without trial; why the superiors were not chosen by vote; and why the government of the order was dependent upon Rome. The inquiry, therefore, was not directed at the members but at the constitutions of the Jesuits.[100] The Jesuits in the first house visited did all in their

power to hinder the execution of the inspection,[101] and amidst the resulting furore Aquaviva persuaded the pope to order the inspection suspended on September 8, 1588.[102]

Despite this action Philip did not change his views. His Dominican confessor, Diego de Chaves, and Juan de Orellano, a fellow Dominican, counselled for the reform.[103] Philip informed Quiroga that the inspector Manrique would be replaced by a Jesuit and that the inspection should continue.[104] José de Acosta, the former provincial of Peru, was selected for the job. The inspection was far from completed when the Franciscan pope, Sixtus V, suddenly died.[105]

Relations with the papacy remained snarled as two popes, Urban VII and Gregory XIV, were elected and passed from the scene in rapid succession. Just as in the case of the previous two elections, Cardinal Quiroga was not present at the election of the new pope, Innocent IX, in 1591.[106] He soon had occasion to hear from him because Innocent forbade interference in the internal affairs of any order and restored to the Jesuits the power to absolve from heresy.[107] José de Acosta recommended a general congregation of the order to remedy its ailments. Quiroga agreed to this, but he advised the king neither to halt the inspection nor to drop the appeal to revoke the briefs which restored to the Jesuits the power to absolve from heresy. He shrewdly guessed that the congregation would remedy only those things in the government of the order which could be conveniently corrected.[108]

Quiroga continued his advice to Philip by urging that the reformers in the order be protected from the passionate hatred of the others. To the old inquisitor general, the reform stood for all that was honorable and virtuous and Spanish. Even so, he protected the entire order in Spain in that same year by persuading Philip to reverse the bishop of Segovia's order prohibiting contemplation and the administration of the sacraments to the Jesuits in that see. Quiroga desired to uphold the Christian faith lest similar persecutions destroy the work he and the king had done in the past.[109]

During the last two years of Quiroga's life his attitude toward the Society of Jesus cannot be traced in its entirety. His and Philip's reform efforts were not successful in nationalizing the order and bringing it under inquisitorial control. As late as April 19, 1593, Quiroga was writing to the pope, attempting to achieve some slight reforms, although his letter is extremely solicitous in tone and passive in its phraseology.[110] One cannot but wonder what had hap-

pened to the clear-cut, straight-to-the-point epistles of the once persistent Gaspar de Quiroga. By that time, however, other discouraging political factors arising from the case of Antonio Pérez had worn away the unflinching mein of this man who had worked in accordance with his beliefs.

X

THE PÉREZ ENIGMA

. . . . . .

As the old Gómez faction dissolved in 1579, one of its members, Antonio Pérez, was arrested by civil authorities acting under Philip's orders. The reasons for this particular treatment are not fully known to this day, although the secret state information Pérez disclosed to the Princess of Éboli implicated him unwittingly in what might have been considered treason to Philip. The princess had relayed the secret information to the Duke of Braganza, a rival claimant of Philip's to the Portuguese throne. Certainly the connection of Pérez with the murder of Juan de Escovedo, even though done at Philip's secret orders, was a convenient excuse for the monarch to remove a minister of the Gómez peace faction who had become a source of embarrassment to him after he decided to choose an imperial policy.[1]

Quiroga's friendship with Antonio Pérez cannot be questioned.

These two men and the Marqués de los Vélez provided the leadership for the Gómez faction after the latter's death in 1572. On many occasions the archbishop supplied Pérez with money when he needed it.[2] Pérez had been one of the happiest celebrants when Quiroga received the cardinal's hat,[3] and the new cardinal gave the young minister encouragement when the latter was on the verge of resigning and leaving the Court in April, 1579, because of the heavy verbal attacks by his enemies.[4] When Mateo Vásquez informed on Pérez to the king, Quiroga placed his sources of information at his friend's disposal.[5]

It was also the cardinal who, on the day following the arrest of Pérez, comforted the young man's wife and children while all the scandalmongers in Madrid shunned the family. The removal of Pérez from jail to his own home, and the lack of any royal charges upon the king's departure for Portugal, so encouraged Pérez and Quiroga that they made plans for the recovery of the disgraced man's position and influence.[6] However, the reports that he had played for high stakes at cards with certain friends in his house gave his enemies the opening they desired, and Philip permitted Rodrigo Vázquez de Arce[7] to start a secret inquiry into the honesty of Pérez' career as king's minister. Throughout these investigations Quiroga felt that Pérez had acted in full sincerity and truth.[8] The trust proved unwarranted, for Pérez' venality was only too easy to prove.[9] Philip hesitated until fresh rumors began to circulate in regard to the responsibility for the murder of Escovedo. Finally, on January 23, 1585, the blow fell. Pérez was sentenced to two years of imprisonment in a fortress and to perpetual banishment from the court, and was forced to pay an enormous fine.[10] The royal officials arrived to arrest him, but while they were ransacking his house for documents he escaped to the nearby church of San Justo and claimed sanctuary with Quiroga's approval.[11] The royal authorities boldly entered the church and took him. Quiroga violently protested this disregard of time-honored ecclesiastical rights and joined with the papal nuncio to denounce the action before Philip.[12] For the first time, Philip flatly refused to support or give any satisfaction to his beloved reformer; political matters took precedence in this instance over ecclesiastical ones. During the next four years Quiroga and the nuncio attempted without success to secure the replacement of the prisoner in the church of San Justo. Eventually, in 1589, some members of the Council of Castile spoke for Philip, saying that the ec-

clesiastics knew nothing of the true nature of the case and that they should desist in their appeals.[13]

Quiroga, a member of the council himself, could see nothing more to the matter than the question of Pérez' guilt in hiring assassins to commit a murder allegedly ordered by the king. Mystified as to the true nature of the reasons for Philip's continued persecution of Pérez, he wrote to Philip's confessor, Chaves, saying: "Either I am insane or the whole affair is crazy."[14] Nor was the archbishop the only one puzzled at the continuance of the affair. The king's prosecutor, Rodrigo Vázquez de Arce, admitted that there was some underlying mystery that he could not make out.[15]

Finally, on January 4, 1590, Vázquez de Arce informed Pérez that the king admitted having ordered the execution, but that for his own satisfaction and that of his conscience he must know whether the causes given him for the action were adequate. Pérez consulted with Quiroga, and the archbishop advised him to tell nothing.[16]

There were countless verbal blows and counterblows before Pérez was handed over to the executioner to be tortured on February 22, 1590. He suffered eight turns on the rack before confessing in detail his part in Escovedo's murder. When asked to explain the reasons why he had persuaded the king to order the crime, he equivocated. The information, he complained, would be found in documents taken from his home in the arrest of 1585.[17] This was not the truth because the wily Pérez had managed to retain the most important ones signed by the king's own hand.[18]

The good cardinal of Toledo was shocked at the revelations made by Philip himself and lodged remonstrations which leaked out at court.[19] Men began to ask what manner of crime could it be in which both the king and his minister had collaborated, but for which one ordered the other to be put to torture. Sympathy for Pérez was temporarily aroused on every side.[20]

With the help of Fray Lucas de Allende (Guardian of San Francisco de Madrid), the Aragonese Gil de Mesa, and possibly Quiroga,[21] Pérez determined to make one final effort to save himself. On the evening of April 20, 1590, his wife obtained permission to visit him in prison on the plea that his sufferings on the rack made his death a near probability. Disguised in his wife's cloak, Pérez passed through his guards and out of prison. His friends awaited him with horses, and they fled to the kingdom of Aragon, where the authority of its mighty *justicia* offered Pérez a safer refuge.[22] Aragon was noted above all for its *justicia mayor,* a magistrate whose jurisdiction was both superior

to, and parallel with, ordinary jurisdiction. This supreme magistrate was not a kind of tribune created to prevent encroachment by the royal prerogative, but was nominated by the king for life, and no law prevented him from holding other high civil or military offices in the king's name at the same time. However, in his capacity as *justicia mayor,* it was his duty to resist abuses of power from whatever quarter they might proceed and to protect the centuries old Aragonese *fueros,* or legal rights, which limited the authority of the sovereign.[23]

Quiroga reportedly shed tears of joy when he heard of the escape of Pérez to the land of the *justicia,*[24] and he entered into correspondence with the refugee at once. They both knew that Pérez was under the protection of a constitution which proudly defended the rights of the individual against tyranny. No essential feature of the government of Aragon ever had been abolished or even seriously modified by the kings of Spain. By employing the cardinal as an intermediary, Pérez hoped to ward off a royal trial in Aragon.[25] Philip attempted to seize him at Calatayud without trial, and Gil de Mesa, Pérez' devoted friend who accompanied him on his flight, rode to Saragossa to plead for the protection of the *justicia.*[26] The Aragonese officials responded favorably. Juan de Luna, a deputy of the realm, took fifty Aragonese horsemen and claimed for Pérez the ancient privileges of Aragon. The people of Calatayud rejoiced at the defense of their liberties and took Pérez to Saragossa, where he was welcomed by the populace and placed in the Aragonese protective jail, the *cárcel de los manifestados.*[27]

Philip had been decisively beaten in the first constitutional test, but a struggle was obviously imminent. Many proposed to sit by and enjoy it. Even the favorite court fool of Philip ventured to twit the monarch about it in open court.[28]

Not yet prepared to infringe upon the established Aragonese constitution, Philip entered a formal plea against Pérez before the *justicia's* court on the grounds that the defendant had compassed the murder of Escovedo on false pretenses, had altered correspondence and divulged state secrets, and had escaped from prison.[29] After a prolonged judicial phase, Pérez confessed that he had ordered the murder of Escovedo at the king's command; moreover, he produced a number of documents, many written by Philip himself, in proof of his assertions. The tremendous effect of these letters caused Philip's case to collapse and lowered his prestige in Europe.[30] Fearful lest Pérez reveal even more damning documents,[31] Philip withdrew his

charges and directed the *justicia* to abandon the case, explaining that to go further with it would force secrets to be published which ought not to be revealed and would involve persons whose reputation was of more consequence than the punishment of a single offender.[32]

Pérez and the Inquisition

This is as close to the mystery as one can come without speculation. Whatever the secrets were, they would have destroyed Philip's international prestige at a time when Spain most needed it. In desperation, the monarch turned to the one tribunal in Spain against which the *fueros* of Aragon and the authority of the *justica* were of no avail —the tribunal of the Inquisition. The trials of the Inquisition were secret and thus closed to the ears of the public. On a slight pretext the royal confessor, Diego de Chaves, furnished evidence showing that Pérez had once said during his imprisonment and torture that God could not be in His heaven or else He would not let him suffer so;[33] furthermore, he had uttered words to the effect that he planned to flee to the heretics of France and Béarn and give them important state information.

Both of the charges clearly fell within the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and the accusation of heresy was a master stroke by Philip. It would force Quiroga's hand and would surely obtain the conviction necessary since precautions had been taken by Chaves, the Count of Chinchón, and the Marqués de Almenara to collect the proof and witnesses.[34] The old *calificador,* Hernando del Castillo, had worked with Quiroga to help Pérez, and Philip conveniently exercised his recall authority to remove Castillo.[35] In his place Philip appointed his confessor, Chaves, who qualified the propositions as heretical.[36] On May 24, 1591, the *justica* transferred Pérez from the *cárcel de los manifestados* to the secret prison of the Inquisition in the palace of the Aljafería.[37]

The subsequent uprising of the Aragonese because of this use of the Inquisition by Philip to circumvent their ancient judicial privileges forms a story already told by the competent scholar Pidal.[38] With Pérez' second escape, this time to Béarn, Philip established his authority over the *justicia* in Aragon by sending in royal troops to quell the uprising. He commanded the Inquisition to continue the Pérez trial even though the defendant was absent.[39]

The actions of Quiroga and several members of the Inquisition reflect general disappointment over the misuse of the powers of their

organization. Quiroga's drive to acquire broader jurisdiction for the Inquisition had postulated its use to unify Spain through the achievement of religious solidarity. To make a mockery out of the Inquisition by charging heresy merely to serve political and personal ends was a crushing blow. The inquisitor general and two of his secretaries, the brothers Jerónimo and Francisco Valles, utilized their posts in Madrid and Aragon to aid the escapee and his family.[40]

The tribunal of the Inquisition at Saragossa was formed by three men: Dr. Antonio Morejón, Don Juan de Mendoza, and Molina de Medrano. The old inquisitor Morejón was called "our inquisitor" by Pérez' close friends,[41] while opponents declared that he revealed to Pérez the decisions of the Inquisition berore their publication.[42] Don Juan de Mendoza disliked the abuse of the tribunal and requested a transfer during the middle of the trial.[43] The third member, Molina de Medrano, was an informer who used his position presumably to help Pérez but actually sold out secretly to the friends of the king.[44] Anton de Añón, whose father was a familiar of the Holy Office and a good friend of Pérez, declared himself for Morejón.[45] Three *calificadores,* Pedro Torrellas, Antonio López, and Doctor Maduca, all joined with Quiroga in slowing down the machinery of the Inquisition.[46]

The friendship of the tribunal at Saragossa did not remain constant once the insurrection began.[47] Morejón initiated the reversal by decidedly switching sides after the violence started on May 24, 1591. He told the viceroy of Aragon of the intended flight of Pérez to Béarn in September. Morejón sought recompense for the information, assuring the viceroy that it was he and not the inquisitor Molina de Medrano who gave the best advice.[48] This betrayal explains why Pérez does not speak well of Morejón in his later writings and accuses him of seeking the appointment to the archbishopric of Toledo.[49] Philip also contributed his bit in altering the attitude of the Inquisition by replacing Don Juan de Mendoza with a royal hireling, a certain Zarate.[50] On October 20, 1592, sentence was passed, and Pérez was burned in effigy.[51]

In the Suprema in Madrid, Pérez always had friends. Quiroga and some unnamed doctors and legists held that the decision in Aragon was manifestly unjust. The efforts of men like Fray Francisco de Sosa to erase the injustice forced upon their Holy Office explains the rapid rehabilitation of Pérez' name by the Inquisition after Philip II's death a few years later.[52]

XI

QUIROGA'S LAST DAYS

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The weary Quiroga never lived to witness the final acts of rehabilitation for Pérez' family which hardly served to erase the black name his organization had received. His last years were spent in almost servile submission to Philip's decisions. The Rodrigo de Mur arrest is a case in point. Mur, the señor of Piñilla, had supported Pérez in the uprising and was in line for arrest when the insurrection collapsed.[1] The Inquisition, charged with the prevention of the export of horses, was obligated to try Mur because he had ridden on horseback into Béarn, thereby theoretically furnishing heretics with the material of war. Mur threw himself upon the mercy of the inquisitor Morejón, admitting his theoretical guilt.[2] He begged to erase his guilt by gaining permission to go into France for the purpose of assassinating the prince of Béarn.[3] Morejón informed Quiroga of the

offer, but the latter refused to act. Instead, he referred the case to Philip with the remark that he and the Supreme Council of the Inquisition were waiting for the desire of the king to be made manifest.[4] Philip's wish eventually became known when news reached Madrid that Mur had gone to France and failed in his attempt to assassinate, not the prince of Béarn, but Antonio Pérez![5]

The Pérez affair, the rebuff on the question of the Aljafería fortifications, and Philip's actions in the Mur case prompted the aging archbishop to show his disapproval in a letter to Philip in 1593. He begged the king for permission to retire to Toledo and resign the offices he held in Madrid, preferring to live his last days quietly in seclusion. However, rather than let a man of Quiroga's importance show his displeasure by such an action, Philip refused.[6] The attempt prompted the king to take steps to assure the uninterrupted administration of the archdiocese of Toledo and the collection of its rents by making preparations to relieve Quiroga of his responsibilities in Toledo. Despite Quiroga's objections, the king induced him to accept the archduke of Austria, Cardinal Albert, as coadjutor in August, 1594.[7] After such treatment, the last illness of the elderly prelate served only to remove him from a court where he had little actual control or authority. One day late in the fall he caught a cold while enjoying the crisp autumn air on an open balcony in Madrid, and in his weakened condition he died of apoplexy on November 20,[8] at 82 years of age.[9]

Although the cathedral officials at Toledo made an effort to secure his body for burial in the *capilla mayor* on the side opposite the remains of Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, that was not to be. Quiroga's will ordered that interment should be in his native city of Madrigal, in the convent of his beloved Augustinian friends.[10] In more recent times, after indifference permitted the monastery to fall into ruins, his body was removed to the Augustinian convent of Santa Maria in the same city.

The vast wealth in money and land left by Quiroga was carefully listed and disposed of in his will. To the city of Madrigal he left a public granary and an endowment sufficient to provide for the annual distribution of two thousand *fanegas* (the Spanish bushel)[11] of grain free of charge to the poor and needy. He also founded a chair of grammar for the instruction of the youth of that city. To other institutions he left the amounts as listed:

The Church of Salamanca.....a rich endowment for two requiem masses for his soul's perpetual rest.
The Refuge of Santa Isabel of Madrid.....200 ducats of rent for the upkeep of deserted girls.
The College of Santa Cruz de Valladolid.....6000 ducats for repair.
The English College of Valladolid.....1000 ducats annually in rents.

The remainder of the estate, a reported 1,900,000 ducats, was divided by Quiroga into three parts, equal portions going to Pope Clement VIII, Philip II, and a board of five chosen executors. This last portion was to be spent only for pious works and charity to the poor.[12] Fortunately, Quiroga's careful choice of executors prevented later attempts by insincere men, some even his relatives, to break the will and use the remainder of the estate for personal ends.[13] In point of fact, the will was made despite pressure from high born persons and relatives who were urging Quiroga to set up a *mayorazgo,* or right of succession, in family estates. His reply to this was simple and direct. He stated he did not desire to do so because the estate which he held belonged to the Church, and it should be distributed to the poor.[14] Thus, the kindly Quiroga revealed his original charity in his last hours. Whatever he may have thought about the wavering judgment and morality of the masses, he clearly felt that it was the duty of the Church to look constantly after their welfare, spiritually and otherwise. Remembering his beliefs, the populace often referred to the departed prelate as a man who had been most godly in his resolutions.[15]

SUMMARY

The last quarter of the sixteenth century in Europe was a period of religious stress and strain. The religious policies of Spain were of paramount importance, considering her predominant position in Europe. Ecclesiastical policy within the archbishopric of Toledo, determined by Cardinal Gaspar de Quiroga with Philip's approval, was very deliberately designed to broaden the Spanish Catholic Church. Beginning in the 1570's, a more moderate policy also was discernible in Spanish inquisitorial affairs. For example, the Copernican system, condemned in Italy, was impartially and silently accepted by Quiroga's Spanish Inquisition. Even Aristotle could be discussed and criti-

cized, regardless of what Fray Mancio might say about those who spoke ill of the Stagirite.

To some degree, at least, this trend in Spain must be attributed to Gaspar de Quiroga and his policies. The early Augustinian influence at Madrigal, the broadening Spanish humanism absorbed during his school days at Salamanca and Valladolid, and the enlightened outlook of Toledan scholars and artists whose association he so enjoyed, undoubtedly contributed their respective shares of influence upon Archbishop Quiroga. After a few administrative indiscretions early in his career, his integrity and excellent judgment won the attention of Philip II, who employed him as a *visitador,* or inspector, of the monasteries in Naples and Sicily. Quiroga's conduct in reforming the monasteries in these areas led to his appointment to the presidency of the Council of Italy and, in 1572, to the bishopric of Cuenca. Within the year he was elevated to the inquisitor-generalship of the Spanish Inquisition.

While at Cuenca, Quiroga introduced the religious policies which were later employed on a larger scale when he became archbishop of Toledo and primate of the Spanish Church in 1577. These policies were the crux of the Spanish reform of the latter half of the sixteenth century. Under Archbishop Quiroga's guidance, a standardized *Manual of the Sacraments* embodying broadened principles was issued throughout Spain in an effort to gain uniformity. The first truly positive action taken by Spain to carry out effectively any of the decrees of the Council of Trent occurred when the archbishop called the Council of Toledo in 1582. This meeting initiated a movement directed at the moral reform of the clergy and the laity. Clerics were not permitted to gamble, attend bull fights, or live *in absentia* from their benefices or appointed offices. Care was taken to reduce the licentiousness of the laity following celebrations on religious holidays. Quiroga sponsored a moralistic revival which featured the veneration of saints and the return to Toledo of the bones of Saint Leocadia and others. Poetry and other types of literature expounding a system of values consonant with such a religious program were patronized by Quiroga, as were works of art by such skilled craftsmen as El Greco and Cristóbal Becerril. The erection of seminaries, convents, and *colegios* formed an integral part of this program to advance religious knowledge in Spain. Homes for destitute and orphaned girls were endowed by Quiroga, and the monastic orders assisted him in his enterprise.

This same interest was carried over into the higher offices of the Inquisition by Quiroga, who served as the ecclesiastical primate of Spain and the inquisitor general concurrently for almost twenty years, until his death in 1594. Under him the Council of the Inquisition undertook the delicate task of issuing an Edict of Grace to repentent and newly converted Moriscos. Although positive evidence existed that many Moriscos were selling arms and horses to the French Huguenots in Navarre, Quiroga fostered the establishment of primary schools for the education and religious instruction of Moriscos. He considered such a program the proper way to unify Spain religiously, in spite of the existing racial divergences. The unedifying story of opposition in the lower inquisitorial offices and the indifference of the short-sighted Moriscos contributed to the failure of an ambitious program that might have prevented the 1609 expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain.

The inquisitorial reforms of this period necessarily involved Quiroga in Spanish foreign policy. The establishment of maritime inquisitors to inspect ships and examine the condition of men sentenced to the galleys also meant that inquisitorial surveillance might turn up heretical suspects, especially when English ships harbored in Spanish ports. Even an agreement negotiated by Lord Burleigh failed to prevent international incidents between the two governments. Each case was eventually reviewed by Quiroga as fairly and impartially as possible according to its specific merits. However, underlying this legal impartiality lay his deep-rooted hatred of Elizabeth and her England. He realized that Protestant England—not France—was the real threat to Spanish security. This fact explains his advocacy of a negotiated peace in the Netherlands conflict, which would have permitted Don Juan of Austria to take his troops from Flanders to England and establish Mary, Queen of Scots, on the throne. It also caused him tacitly to favor the Portuguese annexation to Spain, trusting that the financial resources of the Portuguese empire would help Spain gird for the coming conflict. On various occasions, to assist the shipbuilding program for the English invasion, the prelate gave Philip several hundred thousand ducats from his ecclesiastical revenues. The defeat of the Spanish Armada only served to intensify his convictions.

Within Castile itself, Quiroga's inquisitorial machine was used as the testing instrument for two intellectual groups. Several humanists, including Luis de León, Gaspar de Grajal, and Martínez de Cantalapiedra, were denounced for heterodoxy by a group of con-

servative scholastics led by León de Castro. The trials lasted for years. The outcome was never decided until Quiroga personally dealt with the specific cases and dismissed the charges. These "new scholastics," men of scholarship who possessed critical faculties and clarity of thought, had nothing to fear from Quiroga if they were loyal to the Church and the faith.

To help clarify the problems of heterodoxy, Quiroga urged the completion of the long-proposed Spanish Index. For years regular and secular theologians argued over its preparation before it finally appeared in two parts—the prohibited books and authors in 1583, and the expurgated works in 1584. This latter Index, the first of its kind in Spain, was prepared separately at Quiroga's suggestion so that many works otherwise forbidden could be used after the objectionable portion had been deleted.

The age-old question of papal jurisdiction over the Spanish Inquisition was clearly resolved for the period of Quiroga's leadership. Since his early years when he had been a member of the *Sacra Rota Romana,* the supreme ecclesiastical tribunal at Rome, the legally minded Quiroga never once questioned papal supremacy in spiritual affairs. The Inquisition, as he saw it, came under the pope's delegated powers. He often delayed acting upon papal decisions during his period in office, but only until he could relay the impractical aspects of the decree to the papacy for possible reconsideration. At times he questioned the limits of the pope's jurisdiction as applied through the Roman Inquisition, particularly in the hotly contested areas of Naples and Sicily. Quiroga carefully extended Spanish inquisitorial jurisdiction as a civil instrument to help unify the Spanish state and empire. Often this was done in spite of the claims of the Roman Inquisition and at the expense of Spanish royal authorities. In every case, Philip II approved the extension of such authority, obviously relying more upon the Inquisition as an instrument of control rather than his own royal bureaucracy. Nevertheless, Quiroga and Philip unsuccessfully attempted to nationalize the Spanish provinces of the Society of Jesus. Many Spanish Jesuits favored a national order, but a strong faction backed by the general of the Jesuit Order, Aquaviva, withstood the attempt with papal sympathy. Quiroga recognized the ultimate authority of the papacy in this controversy and refused to sanction illegal action.

The proposed program for nationalizing the Jesuits in Spain was abandoned in 1591 at the same time that Quiroga and Philip began

to drift apart over the Antonio Pérez problem. Antonio Pérez, Philip's former secretary, had fallen into disfavor with Philip because of possible treason and other reasons still obscure. After years of confinement in Madrid, Pérez fled to Aragon and to the legal security provided there in the local *fueros,* or laws. Failing to secure a conviction against Pérez through ordinary civil procedure because of the threatened revelation by Pérez of documents detrimental to him, Philip decided to invoke a charge of heresy against the accused man and use the secret-trial methods of the Inquisition to prevent any public disclosure of the letters held by Pérez. The case of heresy was not hard to prove because Philip's own confessor swore against Pérez. On the other hand Quiroga, the Council of the Inquisition, and some of the Aragonese inquisitors resented Philip's perverted use of their organization and were friendly to Pérez. The subsequent escape of Pérez to France and the use of the Inquisition to punish the many Aragonese friends of Pérez did not help close the breach between the king and the inquisitor general. When Philip disregarded Quiroga's advice in 1593 and placed the Aragonese Inquisition in the newly fortified Aljafería under the surveillance of royal troops, the aging prelate realized the extent of Philip's use of the Inquisition as a coercive threat in political matters. Quiroga favored its use as a guiding and controlling organization to supplement the program of religious reform which had been partially successful in obtaining Spanish Catholic unity. Philip's refusal to permit Quiroga to retire in 1593 forced the prelate to remain at court only another year. He died on November 20, 1594, a tired, well-intentioned, and charitable old man.

APPENDIX

It is unfortunate that most men of Philip II's day left so few records of their personal activities. Quiroga's Toledo is not difficult to reconstruct because the official records were kept with considerable care. But the men themselves did not know how interested posterity would be in them, and it did not occur to them to leave a report of what they thought and did.

In this semi-biographical sketch use was made of the few available contemporary accounts referring to Gaspar de Quiroga, and heavy reliance was placed necessarily upon three of them in an attempt to reconstruct the early life of the archbishop. To acquaint the reader briefly with these men and their works, this appendix is included.

Juan Pablo Mártir Rizo

In his *Historia de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Cuenca,* Juan Pablo Mártir Rizo includes a sketch of Quiroga among the list of the bishops of Cuenca. Mártir Rizo was commissioned by the Marqués de Cañete to write this book in order to glorify the province of Cuenca and its nobility, especially the Cañete household. The author knew nothing of Quiroga's life prior to his stay at the College of Santa Cruz at Valladolid. The account lists the offices that Quiroga held, and it is the only one indicating the length of Quiroga's term in the *Sacra Rota Romana* (seven years). The narrative tells of the policies pursued by the reformer while at Cuenca, but it was hastily written and several discrepancies in dates require its cautious use. Mártir Rizo recorded nothing of Quiroga's life after his stay at Cuenca.

Gil González Dávila

The *Teatro eclesiástico de las iglesias metropolitanas, y catedrales de los reynos de las dos Castillas* of Gil González Dávila provides the hint that the true name of Quiroga's mother was Elena Vela

instead of Elena Vélez, who was the mother of Don Gaspar de Quiroga of Villaroel. This author is not clear about the events of Quiroga's early life and is hardly trustworthy in most respects until the year 1547. From that date onward the information is excellent. He provides the only source of information concerning the introduction of the *limpieza* in 1547 in Toledo, the friendship of Pope Paul IV and Quiroga, the papal bestowal upon Quiroga of the deanship of León and other benefices, and Quiroga's first resignation of the presidency of Italy in 1571. His factual sketch of the highlights of Quiroga's career at Toledo is accurate, insofar as it has been possible to corroborate his account.

González Dávila uses eye-witness accounts for many events he describes. For other information he cites as his sources the writings of Dr. Gonzalo de Illescas, Fray Prudencia de Sandoval, Ambrosio de Morales, Fray Antonio de Yepes, and Padre Pedro de Rivadeneyra. González Dávila, like Mártir Rizo, was not a personal acquaintance of Quiroga and fails to give any insight into the man himself.

Francisco de Pisa

Francisco de Pisa, in his *Descripción de la imperial ciudad de Toledo* and in his fascinating account of the *Historia de la gloriosa virgen y martyr Santa Leocadia patrona de Toledo,* presents valuable information for the interpretation of Quiroga's policies. Pisa, of all the annalists herein mentioned, knew intimately the kindly archbishop, and this undoubtedly explains the existence of much of the personal knowledge revealed in his two works. Pisa was connected with the University of Toledo and was an eye witness to nearly all of the events he recorded.

The beginning of his *Descripción,* which traces the coming of Tubal to Spain shortly after the flood and Noah, must be dismissed as the stereotyped method of opening many historical accounts in those days. In this early part legends and fables lend color to, and agree with, traditional biblical stories. The organization is poor, and the literary style compares unfavorably with that of González Dávila. However, his facts on Quiroga are thorough and accurate. He lists the number of years or months Quiroga spent at many of his appointed posts, but provides no dates until 1577, when Quiroga becomes archbishop of Toledo.

Pisa often digresses, then abruptly returns to the principal topic in such a way as to leave the reader wondering whether the events

of the digression occurred before, contemporaneously with, or after the main topic. An element of pride appears as Pisa discusses his work with García de Loaysa on Quiroga's *Manual of the Sacraments.* Similarly, a note of mild jealousy and regret creeps in when he mentions that García de Loaysa received the first of a series of promotions that later resulted in his appointment as archbishop of Toledo in the reign of Philip III, primarily because of the fame resulting from this effort on the manual.

Strangely enough, Pisa does not mention the Council of Toledo in which the Spanish-papal controversy was highlighted. But he also ignored the Carranza case. It is to be noted that Pisa invariably recognizes papal authority in ecclesiastical matters and at the same time remains loyal to his Spanish sovereign. An example of this dual allegiance appears on folio 267 of his *Descripción,* where he says, "The king and the pope made Quiroga the inquisitor general."

The *Historia de Santa Leocadia* is included in the same binding with the *Descripción* in the 1617 edition, but the numbering of the folios begins anew. Without question, this is the best source for the history of Saint Leocadia and makes understandable the motivation behind Quiroga's program to accentuate the veneration of saints.

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Folio 122: letter of Quiroga to the Council concerning dissensions between the Inquisition in Murcia and the royal authorities in that kingdom, and the proposal made by one of the Granadine Moriscos to take to Valencia ten or twelve thousand of his co-religionists scattered throughout Castile; dated Toledo, January 30, 1583.

Folios 124-125: declaration made by Luis Moreno, of Nuez in Aragon, respecting the intended rising of the Moriscos of that kingdom in combination with an invasion of the Algerian Moors; dated December 14, 1582.

Folios 126-141: correspondence between Quiroga and the Council relating to the case of Jean de Berri and of another Frenchman named Le Baron Jaques; the petition of Lorenço Arabigo, a physician; the blame to be attached to the Señor de Hariza, and other matters relating to the Inquisition of Zaragoza, Sardinia, Sicily, and Mallorca; dated September 3, 12, 18, and October 15, 17, 19, 24, in 1582.

Folios 147-148: letter of the inquisitors of Murcia to Quiroga, announcing that Don Alonso de Leyva, general of the Sicilian galleons, had not landed at Cartagena but was still at Lisbon; also, they ask for instructions about the prisoner Jean de Berri, who is to be delivered to him; dated Murcia, October 22, 1582.

Folio 149: Quiroga's answer concerning the disposition of Jean de Berri.

Folios 151-161: correspondence between Quiroga and the Council relating to the Jean de Berri case and his transmission to Rome at the disposal of the Spanish ambassador Don Juan de Zuñiga; the case of Luis López, a Jesuit; the letter of Don Alvaro de Baçan, in favor of Diego de Rojas, a Morisco; and other matters relating to the Inquisitions of Sicily and Mallorca; dated November 18, 19, and December 4, 10, and 14, in 1582.

"Papeles y consultas originales del consejo de la inquisición." Tomo III. British Museum, Egerton Manuscripts, 1508.

Folios 193-206: modern copies of letters from the Council of the General Inquisition to Philip II, principally relating to the case of Antonio Pérez and the rising in Aragon.

Folios 215-246: "Relación de las causas y procesos de las personas que fueron condenadas en auto publico de fee que se celebró el martes que se contraron 20 de Octubre del año 1592 en la Inquisición del Reyno de Aragon, y de las demas que se an sentenciado y despachado en la Sala de la Audiencia desde el día de 26 de Marco de 91 que se celebró el ultimo auto antes deste."

Folios 283-297: "Relacion de las causas que se despacharon en el auto publico de la ffee (sic) que se celebró en la placa de Cocodober desta Ciudad de Toledo; Domingo, 19 de Junio de 1594;" preceded by a letter of the inquisitors of Toledo, Don Gaspar de Quiroga, Dr. Antonio Morejón, and Dr. Messia de Lassarte to the Council announcing its celebration; dated Toledo, June 19, 1594.

Folios 298-299: letter of the inquisitors of Toledo to the council forwarding a printed book, entitled: *Aventuras de Antonio Pérez,* which was found at Toledo in the possession of Don Pedro Lasso de la Vega; dated December 10, 1594.

"Papeles y consultas originales del consejo de la inquisición." Tomo V. British Museum, Egerton Manuscripts, 1510.

Folios 206-210: letter of Juan de Rojas, inquisitor of Valencia, to the Council of the Inquisition, enclosing a list of new churches to be erected and provided with curates for the use of the Moriscos; dated July 31, 1573.

Folios 211-212: petitions of the Moriscos of Aragon asking for the new grace; dated July 23, 1574.

Folios 213-220: "la forma que se a tenido en el Arcobispado de Valencia en hazer las dismembraciones, erectiones y dotaciones de las Rectorias en los lugares de los nuevos convertidos del dicho Arcobispado en el año 1574."

Folios 221-225: two letters of the inquisitors of Aragon to Don Gaspar de Quiroga, including a copy of a petition presented by the Moriscos of that kingdom; dated Aljafería, January 31, 1575.

Folios 226-231: letter of the bishop of Segorbe to Philip II concerning the efficiency of the Inquisition in that kingdom; dated Madrid, April 12, 1575.

Folios 235-243: corrected draft of a letter of Quiroga to the inquisitors of Aragon, with copies of petitions of the Moriscos inhabiting the town of Piña.

Folios 244-246: Aragonese inquisition reporting to the Council concerning the affairs of the Moriscos of Zaragoza; dated Aljafería, November 19, 1575.

Folios 247-253 copies of papers relating to the Edict of Grace and pardon granted to the Moriscos; dated Aljafería, December 3, 1575.

Folios 254-257: petition of the Moriscos of Zaragoza through their agent at court, Arias de Reynoso; dated January 10, 1578.

Folios 258-259: letter of Valencian inquisitors to the Council, together with paper relating to the Edict of Grace promulgated in 1574.

Folios 260-261: Quiroga's official report to the inquisitors of Valencia and the bishops of Segorbe and Tortosa.

Folio 262: Philip's decree to Quiroga concerning the Moriscos.

Folios 266-269: letter of the inquisitor Salazar to the Council, forwarding the record of the trial of Gaspar Çaydejos, and stating that the Moriscos have not been admitted to any of the pardons published since 1555; dated Aljafería, July 29, 1580.

Folios 270-273: a copy of the provisions of the Edict of Grace conceded by Inquisitor General Don Fernando de Váldes in 1555.

"Papeles y consultas del consejo de la inquisición (1581-1612)." Tomo VI. British Museum, Egerton Manuscripts, 1511.

Folios 49-51: a copy of the proceedings against Fray García of the order of Saint Augustine, and papers relating to the Inquisition of Mallorca; dated Valencia, May 24, 1583.

Folios 105-113: proceedings of a junta of ministers convened by Inquisitor General Quiroga to consider the case of the Valencian Moriscos and their religious instruction; dated June 17, 1587.

Folios 114-131: copy of letters from Philip II to important persons in the kingdoms concerning the instruction of the Moriscos in Valencia; dated July 20, 1587.

Folios 132-135: letter of the patriarch-archbishop of Valencia, Juan de Ribera, to Philip II on the affairs of the Valencian Moriscos; dated Valencia, July 28, 1587.

Folios 136-137: letter of Ribera to Philip II concerning the ecclesiastics appointed to instruct the Moriscos; dated Valencia, July 28, 1587.

Folios 138-139: report of the junta to the viceroy of Valencia and to Archbishop Ribera; dated 1587.

Folios 140-145: letter of Ribera to the king, with a memorial concerning the instruction of the Moriscos; dated Valencia, July 24, 1587.

Folio 146: letter of bishop of Segorbe to king, reporting on the best means of instructing the Moriscos; dated Madrid, July 30, 1587.

Folios 148-149: letter of the dean of Orihuela to the king on the instruction of the Moriscos; dated Orihuela, July 31, 1587.

Folios 150-151: letter of the Valencian inquisitors to Quiroga concerning the instruction of the Moriscos; dated Valencia, August 3, 1587.

Folios 154-159: letter of the dean of Orihuela to Philip II, together with the "Memorial acerca de los Alfaquis del Obispado;" dated Orihuela, August 30, 1587.

Folios 160-161: letter of the dean of Orihuela to the king's secretary, Matheo Vázquez, relating to the impost known as "Subsidio y Excusado;" dated Orihuela, August 30, 1597.

Folios 162-163: letter of Archbishop Ribera to Arenillas de Reynoso, *fiscal* to the Council of the Inquisition, about the aclesiastics elected for the instruction of the Moriscos; dated Valencia, November 26, 1587.

Folios 164-165: letter of the dean of Orihuela to Matheo Vázquez about the provision to be made in favor of Dr. Juan Bautista Monllor, ordered to proceed to Valencia to form one of the *juntas* for the instruction of the Moriscos; dated Orihuela, January 15, 1588.

Folios 174-180: letter of Archbishop Ribera to the *fiscal* of the Inquisition, informing him that all members of the *junta* have not arrived; dated March 6, 1588; also included are *consultas* and papers of the 5th and 17th of March, 1588.

Folios 166-173: note of Quiroga (?) to Matheo Vázquez, dated Madrid, February 1, 1588, with a copy of a letter written by Vázquez on February 2, and three original *consultas* of the Council, dated January 6, 31, and March 4, 1588.

Folios 181-182: letter of the Aragonese inquisitors, relating to the warlike preparations made by the Moriscos of that kingdom; dated Aljafería, January 23, 1589.

Folios 184-190: two letters of Archbishop Ribera to Arenillas de Reynoso, informing him of the proceedings of the *junta;* dated Valencia, April 14, 1591, and May 20, 1591.

Folios 191-193: letter of the Count of Chinchón to Quiroga, sending him some petitions of the Aragonese and Valencian Moriscos to be reported upon; dated Madrid, January 31, 1593.

Folios 294-295: report of the "Junta de Conversos" to Philip II, with resolutions on the margin in the handwriting of Matheo Vázquez; dated November 18, 1587.

"Papeles de inquisición y moriscos convertidos." British Museum Egerton Manuscripts, 1832.

Folios 135-156: a list of the location of the descendants of Jews and Moors from the city of Segovia secretly owned by Estaban Monago.

Folios 145-146: information given by the inquisitors of Zaragoza relative to their efforts to prevent Moriscos from leaving the kingdom; dated August 14, 1579.

Folios 147-149: a declaration given by some Moriscos concerning their methods of traveling without a passport; dated October 19, 1579.

Folios 150-151: letter of the inquisitors of Zaragoza to the Council concerning the restrictive edicts preventing Moriscos from leaving the kingdom without license.

Folios 152-155: letter of the Count of Chinchón to Quiroga informing him of the king's health; dated October 28, 1585.

Folios 156-157: "Memorial de lo que se debe mandar proveer en el asunto de los nuevamente convertidos."

"Papeles del consejo de la general inquisición, tocantes á los nuevos convertidos de la villa de Xea de Aluarracin (1555-1574)." British Museum, Egerton Manuscripts, 1833.

Folios 54-57: petitions by Moriscos of Xea; dated March 19, and May 22, 1566.

Folios 58-61: two orders of the Council to the inquisitors of Valencia respecting the Moriscos of Xea and their petition; dated Madrid, March 4, and May 9, 1569.

Folio 61: a vote of the Valencian inquisitors on the Morisco problem in Xea; dated February 19, 1574.

Folios 63-64: copy of a petition which the newly converted Moors presented to Quiroga.

Folios 65-75: declarations made by various individuals concerning the Moorish conversions; dated June 12, 17, 18, 1573.

Folios 76-78: letter of Diego de Haedo, inquisitor of Valencia, concerning the newly converted Moors in that area; dated Albarrazin, June 18, 1573.

Folios 79-100: eight letters from the inquisitor Haedo to Quiroga, written during the summer of 1573, concerning the lack of cooperation evidenced by the Moriscos.

Folios 101-104: a notarial act, drawn at Teruel and attested to by Gerónimo Romeu, stating that none of the Moriscos of Aragon answered the summons of the inquisitor Haedo nor came to confess prior to their admission to the amnesty; dated September 3, 1573.

Folios 105-108: two letters from the inquisitors of Zaragoza to Quiroga, stating the necessity of disarming the Moriscos of Xea; dated Aljafería, December 7, 1573, and January 15, 1574.

Folios 109-111: two documents concerning the opinions of the Valencian inquisitors toward the promulgation of the Edict of Grace; dated February 19 and 20, 1574.

Folio 112: "Memorial de los nuevamente convertidos de moros de la villa de Xea, pidiendo se les comunique la misma gracia que a los de Valencia;" dated Madrid, August 19, 1574.

Folios 113-114: letter from the Count of Fuentes to Quiroga in behalf of his Morisco vassals of the town of Xea; dated Zaragoza, August 8, 1574.

Folio 115: report of the Valencian Inquisition to Quiroga, stating their readiness to send to Xea one of their number to promulgate again the Edict of Mercy and Reconciliation; dated Valencia, September 15, 1574.

Folio 117: letter from Juan de Rojas to the Council concerning the state of the Moriscos; dated Xea, April 6, 1575.

"Papeles del consejo de la general inquisición y minutas autografas de Felipe II y III (1575-1610)." British Museum, Egerton Manuscripts, 1834.

Folios 1-2: letter of Quiroga to Philip II, respecting the Aragonese Moriscos; dated March 3, 1575, with the king's marginal answer.

Folios 3-4: letter of Quiroga to king, referring to the Moriscos; to the appointment of Friar Francisco Dorantes as confessor of

Don Juan of Austria; and to affairs of Lorenzo Spinola; dated Madrid, March 8, 1575.

Folios 5-6: report of Quiroga to Philip in 1587 concerning the Moriscos, with the king's decree on the margin.

Folios 7-8: report of the Council to Philip III concerning the disposition of the goods left by the Moriscos of Aragon; dated June 22, 1610.

"Cartas varias y manuscritos." British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 16, 176.

Folios 227-229: instructions relayed to Cardinal Quiroga by the papal nuncio, together with the nuncio's speech on that occasion; dated 1578.

"Papeles originales del consejo de la inquisición." British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 20, 915.

Folios 15-22; 153-153: edicts of the Inquisition concerning the detection of delinquent Moors and Jews.

"Spanish state papers: home correspondence." British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 28, 262.

Folio 89: letter of Antonio Pérez to Philip II, asking that Quiroga report upon a problem for the monks of Paular.

Folio 97: letter of Philip II to Antonio Pérez, ordering him to call on Quiroga and ask his opinion on the differences that have arisen at Naples between Don Juan of Austria and the Marqués de Mondejar; dated December 15, 1575.

Folios 196-197: letter of Pérez to king, sending for his approval the draft of a letter to Pope Gregory XIII, and of another to Don Juan de Zuñiga, relative to the revenues of the archbishopric of Toledo; dated July 17, 1576, with the king's marginal answers.

Folios 203-204: letter of Pérez to king, reporting a conversation held with Quiroga concerning the papal brief on the revenues of Toledo; dated July 2, 1576, and the king's marginal answer.

Folios 236-238: letter of Pérez to king, reporting a conversation held with Quiroga on the affairs of Flanders, stating the latter's opinion and his own; dated February 12, 1577, with the king's marginal reply.

Folios 239-242: letter of Pérez to king, forwarding the votes of the councilors consulted on the affairs of Flanders; dated February 13, 1577, with the king's marginal reply.

Folios 254-256: Pérez to king, with the opinion of the Marqués de los Vélez concerning rewards for services proposed for

Escovedo and Octavio de Gonzaga; dated March 31, 1577, with the king's marginal reply.

Folios 548-564: fourteen drafts of royal letters to Cardinal Quiroga, written by Antonio Pérez, containing many corrections in the king's handwriting; topics discussed relate to domestic problems, the affairs in Flanders, and Italian and papal matters.

Folio 565: draft of a letter from the king to the Marqués de los Vélez.

Folios 575-577: letter of Pérez to king, stating that Quiroga was bringing the affair of the exportation of wheat from Sicily to the attention of the Council of State; king's reply on the margin.

Folio 608: letter of Pérez to king, reporting news about Cardinal Quiroga, with king's marginal reply.

Folios 616-620: three letters from Pérez to Philip II, relaying news about Quiroga and problems in Naples, Genoa, and Rome.

Folios 652-665: six letters from Pérez to the king concerning foreign and domestic problems, written during 1578.

"Spanish state papers: home correspondence, (1576-1577)." Volume III. British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 28, 340.

Folios 220-221: copy of a letter from the Duchess of Feria to Cardinal Quiroga, seeking his intercession with Philip II in respect to her son's marriage; dated June 2, 1577.

"Spanish state papers: home correspondence, (1580-1581)." Volume IX. British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 28, 342.

Folios 163-164: a memorial of Juan de Ribera; dated December 29, 1580.

Folios 165-166: comments of Cardinal Quiroga about the memorial of Juan de Ribera.

Folios 230-231: Cardinal Quiroga's evidence concerning the sacrament he received in the year 1509; dated Madrid, March 1, 1581.

Folio 233: a recommendation for an appointment made by Alvar García de Toledo to Matheo Vázquez; dated March 4, 1581.

Folio 235: information about a letter written by Cardinal Quiroga; dated Madrid, March 6, 1581.

Folios 324-325: a letter from Quiroga to Philip II recommending Juan del Castillo; dated Toledo, May 31, 1581.

"Spanish state papers: home correspondence (1583)." Volume XI. British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 28, 344.

Folios 264-265: letter from Dr. Juan de Llano to Philip II, advising him that Cardinal Quiroga has been named "comissario" of

the Holy Office; dated Madrid, October 16, 1583, with the king's marginal comment.

Folios 381-382: a memorial presented to Philip II in 1583 by Cardinal Quiroga.

"Spanish state papers: home correspondence (1588-1591)." Volume XVI. British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 28, 349.

Folio 220: a letter from Cardinal Quiroga to Philip II, asking him to permit his nephew, Juan Alderete, to live at court; dated October 5, 1589.

Folio 236: "Cavalleriza para Cardenal Quiroga," dated 1586.

"Papers of Cardinal Espinosa, relating chiefly to the time he was bishop of Siguenza and president of Navarre (1546-1573)." British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 28, 351.

Folios 347-349: a letter of Nicholás de Ovando written to Cardinal Quiroga concerning the Córtes of Navarre; dated Pamplona, March 21, 1578.

"Original letters and drafts of others, written by Philip II (1557-1581)." British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 28, 357.

Folios 262-264: letter of Philip II to Don Juan de Zuñiga informing him that the problems dealing with the Spanish Reformation have been intrusted to Archbishop Quiroga; dated March 16, 1578.

Folios 364-366: letter of Philip II to Gregory XIII concerning Cardinal Albert; dated Badajoz, November 18, 1580.

Folios 379-380: letter of king to Cardinal Quiroga concerning the death of the queen, Doña Ana of Austria.

Folios 402-403: letter of the king, written in the hand of Matheo Vázquez, to Quiroga, concerning the *visitas* of the taxation system in Italy; dated Elvas, February 28, 1581.

Folios 414-417: letter of the king to Don Juan de Zuñiga about Cardinal Quiroga and the Jesuit problem; dated March 30, 1581.

Folios 480-482: letter of Matheo Vázquez to Quiroga, stating the king's desire to reduce the violations of the arms ordinance in Valencia; dated Lisbon, August 28, 1581.

Folios 538-540: letter of Quiroga to Matheo Vázquez, demanding that His Majesty take into account the spiritual respect due to the Holy Church at Rome; dated Toledo, October 24, 1581.

"Miscellaneous letters and state papers." British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 28, 358.

Folios 44-49: a communication of the Royal Council of Castile to Philip II, discussing the usurpation of royal jurisdiction by the Inquisition; dated March 30, 1582.

Folios 101-103: letter of Philip II to Thomas de Salazar and Quiroga concerning the discharge of duties as *comissario general* of the Santa Cruzada; dated Lisbon, June 17, 1582.

Folios 186-187: copy of a letter of Matheo Vazquez to Quiroga, ordering that Quiroga's *Manual of the Sacraments* be printed in the monastery of San Lorenzo el Real by king's command; dated Lisbon, November 15, 1582.

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Folios 124-125: letter of Quiroga to the Council of State concerning Naples, Sicily, and Cerdagne; dated Madrid, October 23, 1579.

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Folio 242: letter to Arenillas to Matheo Vázquez, relating that he has read to Quiroga the paper concerning the vacancy of the church at Pamplona, and that there has been no reply from Philip II as to a replacement; dated September 27, 1587.

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NOTES

Chapter I

1. *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana* (Barcelona: J. Espasa, 1928), XXXI, p. 1478, says ". . . debe la ciudad á las murallas que la rodean por sus cuatro costados, cuyas torres, unas derribadas y otras ruinadas, conservan todavía su aspecto imponente." Irene L. Plunkett, *Isabel of Castile and the making of the Spanish nation, 1451-1504* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), pp. 7, 16, describes the erection of the castles during the reconquest.

2. José Maria Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos y artes—su naturaleza é historia* (Barcelona: Daniel Cortezo y Cía, 1885), pp. i-x, reaffirms this point.

3. Gil González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico de las iglesias metropolitanas, y catedrales de los reynos de las dos Castillas. Vidas de sus arzobispos, y obispos, y cosas memorables* (Madrid: F. Martinez, 1645), p. 488, refers to the "patria" of the Quiroga family as being the "villa de Madrigal."

4. Juan Pablo Mártir Rizo, *Historia de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Cuenca* (Madrid: Por los herederos de la viuda de P. de Madrigal, 1629), p. 192. See appendix.

5. González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico,* p. 488. Mártir Rizo, *Historia de Cuenca,* p. 488, differs and states her name was Elena Vélez. Although similar, the family names of Vélez and Vela represented two entirely distinct houses of Spain. Although González Dávila, p. 488, says that the Cardinal Gaspar de Quiroga was the only one possessing this name, it is difficult to believe he is the man listed in *Consejo de la Suprema Inquisición. Catálogo de las informaciones generalógicas de los pretendientes a cargos del santo oficio* (Valladolid: Casa social Católica, 1928), p. 303, with the following notation: "Quiroga, Gaspar de Medina del Campo. Ministro oficial. 1592. Valladolid."

Mártir Rizo may have confused the two men when he wrote his *Historia de Cuenca,* and assigned the name of the latter's mother to the Gaspar de Quiroga of this study. Esteban García Chico, *Documentos para el estudio del arte en Castilla* (Universidad de Valladolid: Facultad de historia, 1946), III, 2, p. 120, helps clear up this perplexing problem. In the document listed there, a letter of a certain Antonio de Castillo who is working on the *capilla* of Doña Elena Quiroga, states that the *capilla* is in the monastery of Saint Augustine in the city of Medina del Campo. On page 122, García Chico gives another letter of Castillo in which he says Doña Elena de Quiroga is the wife of the deceased señor of "Villarroel." The Gaspar de Quiroga of Medina del Campo may well have been related to, or even the son of, the Doña Elena de Quiroga who was the wife of the Señor of Villarroel. Francisco de Pisa, *Descripción de la imperial ciudad de Toledo, y historia de sus antigüedades, y grandeza, y cosas memorables que en ella han acontecido, de los reyes que la han señoreado, y governado en sucessión de tiempos; y de los arcobispos de Toledo* (Toledo: P. Rodríguez, 1617), p. 635, lends weight to this hypothesis. Pisa, who personally knew and worked with Cardinal Quiroga for many years at Toledo (cf. appendix) clearly differentiated between

the Don Gaspar de Quiroga who became archbishop, cardinal and inquisitor-general, and a certain Licenciado Don Gaspar de Quiroga Villarroel, who was an inquisitor of Toledo, canónigo and archdeacon of Talavera, and finally in 1608 was a member of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition. Cardinal Quiroga died fourteen years earlier, in 1594, as all authorities agree.

6. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* fol. 267.

7. González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico,* p. 488. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo XVI despues del vencimiento de las comunidades* (Madrid: M. G. Hernández, 1901), p. 130, says he was 85 years old at his death, which would make his birth date in 1509 or early 1510. Cedillo gives no supporting evidence and makes factual mistakes occasionally in his account (see appendix I); González Dávila cites the epitaph which once existed over Quiroga's resting place:

OBIIT OCTVAGESIMVM SECVNDVM AETATIS ANNVM
AGENS, VIGESIMA MENSIS OCTOBRIS, ANNO
NAVITATIS DOMINI
M. D. XC. IIII.

This would seem to prove conclusively the point if the very obvious error as to the month were not there. The epitaph, now destroyed, would hardly have had the month of October as the date of Quiroga's death when all other authorities agree it was November 20, 1594, and many official letters in Quiroga's handwriting exist as late as November 17, 1594. González Dávila again was repeating oral sources.

8. Mariano Alcocer Martínez, *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Imprenta Castellana, 1918), I, p. 407.

9. Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,* ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (New ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), II, pp. 75-76. Hereafter cited as *Medieval Universities.*

10. Vicente de la Fuente, *Historia de las universidades, colegios y demás establecimientos de enseñanza en España* (Madrid: Imp. de la viuda é hija de Fuentenebro, 1884), I, p. 170. Cf. Aubrey Fitzgerald Bell, *Luis de Leon; a study of the Spanish renaissance* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 63. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla, publicados por la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid, 1861-1903), IV, pp. 556, 647, gives evidence of the requirement of purity of the blood for four generations.

11. Rashdall, *Medieval Universities,* p. 89, n. 3.

12. *Cambridge Modern History,* "The Renaissance," Vol. I, p. 578, says: "Spain was definitely ranged on the side of those forces which were reacting against the liberal studies of the Renaissance; Greek learning did not prosper in the Peninsula." This is a most incautious statement, easily disproved. Cf. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, *Luis Vives y la Filosofía del Renacimiento* (Madrid, 1903), I, p. 29; ". . . la tradición clásica jamás se había interrumpido entre nosótros." See also Bell, *Luis de Leon,* pp. 1-44, for innumerable instances of high ideals of scholarship in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin.

13. Marañón, *op. cit.,* p. 106.

14. La Fuente, *Universidades,* II, p. 26.

15. Rashdall, *Medieval Universities,* II, p. 83; see also Charles Henri Graux, "L'Université de Salamanque," in *Notices Bibliographiques, et autres articles publiés dans les revues critique, historique, de philologie et internationale de l'enseignement* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1884), p. 317.

16. Marañón, *op. cit.,* p. 106, dates Quiroga's humanism back to his stay at Valladolid.

17. Mártir Rizo, *Historia de Cuenca,* p. 192.

18. *Cortes,* IV, p. 641, complains of the expenses of higher education. Cf. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Fray Luis de Leon* (Oxford University Press, 1921), p.

9 and references there, for the especially high cost at Salamanca.

19. Aubrey Fitzgerald Bell, *El renacimiento español,* trans. Eduardo Juliá Martínez (Zaragoza: Editorial Ebro, 1944), chap. 2, demonstrates this point. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Felipe Segundo,* II, p. 354, says that Philip II preferred ". . . la virtud al nacimiento illustre por menor a ella y así en su reinado se aplicaron todos a las letras." Cf. also the similar observations of Luis de León, *Opera,* ed. Fray Marcelino Gutiérrez, (Salmanticae, 1891), I, pp. 373-4: ". . . quod, quemadmodum vitae exempla docent, saepe accidat ut humili et obscuro loco nati propter industriam animi atque virtutem ad altissimum dignitatis atque potentiae gradum ascendant."

20. Alcocer Martínez, *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid* I, introd., pp. x-xv, concludes from evidence there cited that Valladolid took over the privileges conferred on Palencia when that university became moribund in 1246, the privileges being held valid for the chief *studium* of the diocese of Palencia. A bull of Clement VI thus legalized a *de facto* university. Rashdall, *op. cit.,* p. 70, n. 1, indicates the university developed through the failure of the papal resuscitation of Palencia in 1263, and that its foundation was possibly the result of a bull of Urban IV.

21. *España Sagrada,* ed. Enrique Flórez, XXI, p. 109.

22. Rashdall, *Medieval Universities,* II, pp. 70-71.

23. Rashdall, *Medieval Universities,* II, p. 74, gives the date as 1484 and cites La Fuente, II, pp. 21-29. However, González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico,* p. 176, places the year as 1485, and curiously contradicts himself on the following page by saying that members belonged to the college in 1484.

24. Mártir Rizo, *Historia de Cuenca,* p. 192. González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico,* p. 177, points out that only 421 colegiales had passed through the College of Santa Cruz from 1484 to 1640. González Dávila is following the official college account, still in manuscript form, which he read in 1644, entitled *Anales del Colegio de Santa Cruz de Valladolid.* According to these figures, on an average, not more than three new members were added to the college in any given year.

25. Cf. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez,* p. 106.

26. González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico,* p. 488.

27. *Ibid.,* p. 177. Quiroga was one of two cardinals and the only primate or inquisitor-general to graduate from this college during this span of years. The other cardinal was Don Gaspar de Ávalos, archbishop of Santiago.

Chapter II

1. Alcocer Martínez, *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid,* III, p. 407, provides the date.

2. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folio 267 verso.

3. Cf. James Patrick Donaldson Lyell, *Cardinal Ximenes* (London: Grafton and Co., 1917), pp. 26-27.

4. *Ibid.,* pp. 34-35.

5. González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico,* p. 488.

6. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez,* pp. 106-107.

7. Martin Andrew Sharp Hume, *Philip II of Spain* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1897), pp. 12-13.

8. R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925), III, p. 57.

9. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folio 267 verso. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez,* I, p. 7, gives the conversation as it was alleged to have been in Latin: the pope

questioned Quiroga, "Tu qui [sic] es?" Quiroga's response was, "Ego sum qui rogat." After the pope asked if he were Quiroga, the reply was, "Qui rogat sum."

10. *Ibid.*

11. Marañón, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

12. Mártir Rizo, *Historia de Cuenca,* p. 192.

13. González Dávila, *Teatro ecclesiástico,* p. 488. He actually took possession of the canonry at this time, although it was undoubtedly determined sometime earlier.

14. Cf. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo XVI,* p. 134, for a description of the duties and the influence attainable by a capable person in this office.

15. González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico,* p. 488. The date given here is 1547. Documents shows that the year was 1548. Cf. British Museum, Eg. Ms. 415, folio 1. Alcocer Martinez, *op. cit.*, p. ix, definitely sets the date as June 29, 1547, so Siliceo apparently put it into effect before receiving papal and royal approval which came later.

16. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo XVI,* p. 134.

17. British Museum, Egerton Manuscript 415, folios 3-4; a copy of the Toledan statute.

18. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo* XVI, p. 134.

19. B. M., Eg. Ms. 415, folio 90, for the approbation of Pope Paul III in his bull of October 14, 1547.

20. *Ibid.*, folio 50, for the royal decree of February 11, 1548.

21. Henry Latimer Seaver, *The Great Revolt in Castile* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), p. 18. See also Pedro Jose, Marquis de Pidal, *Philippe II, Antonio Pérez et le Royaume d'Aragon,* trans. J. G. Magnabal (Paris: Dramard-Baudry et Cie, 1867), I, pp. 53ff, for the blood feud of the Ribagorzas and the Chinchóns caused by the murder in 1572 of Luisa Pacheco.

22. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo XVI,* p. 134.

23. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez,* I, p. 126, sheds more light on this problem. He carefully demonstrates that the old terms "war party" and "peace party" were not indicative of any strong desire for peace by the Gómez de Silva faction or war by the Alva group. Political expediency in a given situation decided which of the two sides would advocate war. However, in the larger problem of the Netherlands revolt, the Alva faction sponsored war and hence was commonly designated as the war party.

24. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo XVI,* p. 135, cites Vincente de la Fuente, *Historia eclesiástica,* no page reference, as saying that the question of *limpieza,* or purity of Castilian lineage, as contrasted to those noble families who once had some Jewish ancestry, determined the alignment of the parties at Toledo. This contrasts with the thesis of Marañón, *Antonio Pérez,* I, p. 126.

25. B. M., Eg. Ms. 415, folio 3b. By 1588 Quiroga was a firm supporter of the statutes, and induced Pope Paul IV to confirm them.

26. Conde de Cedillo, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 137. Papal authorities were incensed at the high-handed manner of Siliceo, who undoubtedly was abusing his authority.

28. William Ernst Moeller, *History of the Christian Church,* ed. Gustav Kawerau, trans. John Henry Freese (New York: Mamillan and Co., 1900), III, pp. 249-250.

29. Cf. *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* eds. Charles G. Herbermann and others (New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1912), XIII, pp. 205-206. Source material for this legal body may be found in *Decisiones sacrae Rotae romanae* (Venetius: Turrinum, 1642).

30. González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico,* p. 488. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folio 268, is confused at this point. He has telescoped historical events, not realizing that Quiroga was in Rome twice, and has it appear that Philip gave Quiroga the seat on the *Rota Romana* when he was called to Rome to explain the letter tearing episode of 1543.

31. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folio 268, says he held the seat from 1554 to 1558, but required six months to actually begin his work in Naples, which may have delayed actual work until 1559. Mártir Rizo, *Historia de Cuenca,* p. 192, merely says "Algunos años." Alcocer Martínez, *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid, III,* p. 407, follows the university archives to place the date as 1559. This may well be one of several instances where the official university archives fail us. For example, the date of Quiroga's death is given in the year after it actually occurred. Occasionally, news of events that took place in the last month or two of a given year did not reach the university until the following year, and were recorded as taking place in the latter year, without the month or day being given.

32. Mártir Rizo, *Historia de Cuenca,* p. 190. Alcocer Martínez, *op. cit.,* p. 407, gives this date as 1560, which is probably correct.

33. González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico,* p. 488.

34. British Museum. Cotton Manuscripts, Vespacian C. VI, folio 6 verso. An excellent description of the powers delegated to this council is clearly outlined in this document. See also Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire,* III, pp. 146-152; IV, pp. 413-419.

35. Alcocer Martínez, *op. cit.,* p. 407.

36. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* IV, pp. 58-59.

37. Pastor, *Popes,* XVI, p. 361. B. M. Cotton Ms. Vespasian C. VI, folio 86, makes the estimate in ducats.

38. Alcocer Martínez, *op. cit.,* p. 407. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez,* I, p. 107, follows an incorrect secondary source and makes the date 1563.

39. Eugenio Albéri, ed., *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato* (Firenze: Societá Editrice Fiorentina, 1839), serie i, appendice, p. 345, description by Girolamo Ramusio.

40. B. M. Cotton Ms. Vesp. C. VI, folios 6, 6v, 7.

41. Albéri, *Relazioni,* V, serie i, p. 137, account of Tiepolo (1567). See also Carlos Riba y García, *El Consejo Suprema de Aragon en el Reinado de Felipe II* (Valencia: M. Gimeno, 1914, p. xcviii; Manuel Danvila y Collado, *El poder civil en España* (Madrid: M. Tello, 1885), II, p. 107.

42. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez,* I, p. 107.

43. *C. D. I.,* Vol. 102, pp. 67f.

44. *Merriman, Rise of the Spanish Empire,* IV, pp. 248, 419.

45. Giovanni Evangelista di Blasi e Gambacorta, *Storia Cronologica dei Viceré, Luogotenti, e Presidenti del Regno di Sicilia* (3rd ed., Palermo: Solli, 1867), pp. 196-265.

46. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Felipe Segundo,* I, p. 280, characterizes the island as ". . . fatal contra sus vireyes."

47. Leopold von Ranke, *Die Osmanen und die Spanische Monarchie im 16. und 17. Jahrundert* (Leipzig: Berlag von Duncker und Humblot, 1877), pp. 310-314.

48. Merriman, *op. cit.,* IV, p. 61.

49. B. M., Eg. Ms. 447, fols. 9-68. Cf. Gayangos, *Catalogue of Spanish Manuscripts,* II, pp. 166-167.

50. Cf. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Felipe Segundo,* I, pp. 280f; Guiseppe Buonfiglio Costanzo, *Historia Siciliana* (Venetia: Bonifacio Ciera, 1604), p. 663.

51. Luis del Mármol Carvajal, "Rebelion y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reino de Granada" in *Biblioteca Autores Españoles,* ed. Cayetan Rosell (Madrid, D. M. Rivadeneyra, 1852), XXI, 1, p. 158 ff. Cf. Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of*

Spain: their conversion and expulsion (Philadelphia: Lee Brothers and Co., 1901), pp. 215ff.

52. Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *Felipe Segundo, Rey de España* (Madrid: Aribau, 1876), I, pp. 552ff.

53. Florencio Janer, *Condición Social de los Moriscos de España; causas de su expulsión, y consecuencias que ésta produjo en el orden economico y político* (Madrid: Real academia de la historia, 1857).

54. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* IV, pp. 95-96.

55. González Dávila, *op. cit.,* p. 488; Mártir Rizo, *Historia de Cuenca,* p. 191.

Chapter III

1. Richard Ford, *A handbook for travellers in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1855), II, pp. 806-812, gives a picture of the thriving sixteenth century Cuenca.

2. Mártir Rizo, *Historia de Cuenca,* p. 309.

3. *Ibid.,* p. 194. The connection between Quiroga and the Augustinian Order was strong. Mártir Rizo assumes he was a member of the order, pointing out that Quiroga was interred by his personal wish in their monastery at Madrigal: ". . . mandóse enterrar con sus padres en el Convento de San Augustin de Madrigal adonde está sepultado." Documents do not support Mártir Rizo's assumption. At no time does he appear to have entered the order. True, the Augustinian influence formed an integral part of Quiroga's early environment, with the Convent at Madrigal, the Augustinian Convent of St. Peter at Salamanco, and similar convents at Valladolid and Alcalá de Henares undoubtedly providing him with friends of common interest. The Augustinian influence clearly demonstrates itself after 1572, but at no time is there a claim by either Quiroga or his Augustinian friends that he became a member of the order. Cf. Bell, *Luis de León,* pp. 181-182, and notes there.

4. *Ibid.,* p. 192.

5. Charles E. Chapman, *History of Spain* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1944), pp. 308-309.

6. Although their convent was not finished, Mártir Rizo, *Historia de Cuenca,* pp. 104-5, says of the Augustinians in relation to the program: ". . . pero según muestran los principios de la obra, que se ve levantados, será de los mejores de Epaña, y los Religiosos dél, assi en letras, como en virtud, imitan á aquel gran Doctor de la Iglesia Agustina, que tanto ilustran sus obras a muestra verdadera religion." And this praise comes from a chronicler partial to the Dominicans.

7. *Ibid.,* p. 192. ". . . le embiassen memoria cada uno de los pobres de su Parroquia, para que se señalasse lo que se le avia dar á cada pobre." The predecessor of Quiroga did nothing concerning aid to the poor according to this account. Neither did his successor, Diego de Covarrubias Leyva, who wrote his own biography from which Mártir Rizo quotes, p. 194. The aid to the poor in Cuenca stands out as a policy instigated solely by Quiroga.

8. Cf. Ballesteros, *Historia de España,* IV, 2, pp. 206ff., for the general evidence of the kings' bankruptcy; B.M., Cotton Ms. Vesp. C. VI, fol. 86, for the additional burden of taxes upon the populace from 1571 onwards; Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* IV, pp. 444-445, for the poverty of the realm and increasing inability to pay taxes. See also Jules Gounon-Loubens, *Essais sur l'administration de la Castille au XVI^e^ Siècle* (Paris: Guillaumin et C^ie^., 1860), pp. 285; *Actas de las Cortes,* V, adicional, p. 613.

9. Mártir Rizo, *Historia de Cuenca,* pp. 192-193.

10. *Ibid.,* p. 193.

11. *Ibid.,* p. 110-111.

12. *The Hispanic Society of America Handbook: Museum and Library Collections* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1938), pp. 194-5.

13. Great Britain, Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Venetian, 1592-1603,* IX, p. 342; letter of Soranzo to Doge and Senate, Sept. 13, 1598, discussing Quiroga in retrospect.

14. Mártir Rizo, *Historia de Cuenca,* p. 193.

15. Alcocer Martínez, *Historia de Valladolid,* p. 407.

Chapter IV

1. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* I, pp. 70, 90, 276.

2. C. S. P., *Venetian,* IX, 1592-1603. Francisco Soranzo's estimate.

3. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo* XVI, p. 127. This income exceeded that of any *grandeé* in Spain. In the middle of Philip II's reign there were twenty-three Spanish dukes with a total income of one and a half million ducats. The Duke of Medina Sidonia was the richest, with 130,000 ducats; the Dukes of Medina de Rioseco and Osuna followed with 100,000; the Duke of Escalona received about 90,000 ducats.

4. C. S. P., *Venetian, 1558-1580,* VII, p. 283, according to Michiel Soriano's report.

5. B.M., Cotton Ms. Vesp. C. VI, fols. 142-156, for the text of the decree, Sept. 1, 1575. See *Actas de las Córtes,* IV, p. 411, for its announcement. Cf. also Ballesteros, *Historia de España,* IV, 2, pp. 206f.

6. *Actas de las Córtes,* IV, pp. 300f.

7. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez,* I, p. 105, asserts that Quiroga owed his career, in great part, to Antonio Pérez; furthermore, he states that the influence of Pérez was responsible for Quiroga's elevation to the archbishopric. Unfortunately, he offers no documentation, and it is difficult to substantiate the point. Antonio Pérez was still a boy of seventeen when Quiroga held the bishopric of the Canaries, the presidency of the Council of Italy, and numerous benefices, in 1567. Not until the death of Ruy Gómez in 1573 did Pérez assume a notable position. Although it is true that Quiroga was on the best of terms with the Ruy Gómez faction and Antonio Pérez, no evidence exists to suggest that Pérez interfered in the appointment in any way whatever. His letters on the subject are of a singularly detached nature. Cf. Pérez's letters, B.M., Add. Ms. 28,262, folios 196, 203f.

8. B.M., Add. Ms. 28,262, folio 203.

9. González Dávila, *Teatro Eclesiástico,* p. 489.

10. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Historia de Felipe Segundo,* IV, pp. 69-71. B.M., Add. Ms. 28,357, folio 414, Philip reaffirms this intention in a letter to Don Juan de Zúñiga, 31 March, 1581.

11. González Dávila, *Teatro Eclesiástico,* p. 489.

12. "Memorias de Garibay," *Memorial histórico español,* ed. Pascual de Gayangos (Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, 1854), VII, p. 370.

13. González Dávila, *op. cit.,* p. 490. This is usually regarded as the official date Quiroga became archbishop. Antonio Martín Gamero, *Historia de la Ciudad de Toledo,* (Toledo: Severiano Lopez Fando, 1862), p. 998, makes it October 21; however, see A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne et XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ Siècle* (Heilbronn: Henninger Frères, 1878), p. 678, for clarification of this point.

14. *Ibid.,* p. 490. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folio 268.

15. B. M., Add. Ms. 28357, folio 262. Letter of Philip to Zuñiga, dated March 16, 1578.

16. González Dávila, *Teatro Eclesiástico,* p. 489.

17. Pastor, *Popes, XIX,* p. 226.

18. Martin Philippson, *Ein Ministerium unter Philipp II. Kardinal Granvella am spanischen Hofe (1578-1586),* (Berlin: Siegfried Cronbach, 1895), p. 49, covers Quiroga's connections with the cardinalate.

19. Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1930), XIX, p. 226, cites the report of Odescalchi of December 20, and especially that of Pompeo Strozzi of December 15, 1578, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, according to which the pope at first resisted the insistances of the Spanish ambassador; but his nomination soon followed ". . . non aspettando il detto ambasciatore." Cf. B. M., Add. Ms. 16,176, folio 227, for Gregory's elaborate instructions to the nuncio, Felipe Sega, who presented the cardinal's cape to Quiroga in Madrid in the Royal Convent of the Descalced Carmelites of the Princess.

20. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo XVI,* p. 130, who incorrectly places the date as December 10, says that a fiesta was held and gifted men of the city composed poetry and panegyrics for the occasion.

21. *Ibid.,* pp. 131-132; Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folio 268.

22. Cristobal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña.* (Madrid: Tipografía de los Huérfanos, 1891), p. 85, constitution 69. The constitutions, printed in Madrid in 1583, have been reproduced in their essential parts in the above work, pp. 84-86. The official title of the constitutions published by Francisco Sánchez in Madrid, 1583, is as follows:

> *Constituciones Sinodales hechas por el Illustrissimo y Reverendissimo Señor, Don Gaspar de Quiroga, Cardinal de la Sancta Balbina, Arcobispo de Toledo: Primado de las Españas, Chanciller mayor de Castilla: Inquisidor general en todos los Reynos y señorías de la Magestad del Rey Don Philippe muestro Señor, y de su consejo de Estado.*

23. *Ibid.,* pp. 85-86.

24. George Haven Putnam, *The Censorship of the Church of Rome* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906), I, p. 28.

25. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña,* pp. 85-86.

26. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folios 268-268b.

27. B. M., Add. Ms. 28,358, folio 186. Letter of Matheo Vázquez to Quiroga, concerning the royal wishes, dated 15 November, 1582.

28. B. M., Add. Ms. 28,342, folio 230. Letter of Quiroga to Philip II, dated March 1, 1581.

29. Pérez, Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña,* II, p. 347. This Breviary was also accepted later by Inquisitor-General Sandoval y Rojas in Philip III's reign, in his capacity as cardinal.

30. *Ibid.,* p. 342.

31. Pastor, *Popes,* XIX, p. 364, gives the papal, anti-Spanish side of this affair. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo XVI,* p. 132; this author presents the Spanish, anti-papal viewpoint.

32. *Ibid.,* p. 149. Juan Bautista Pérez was a trusty of Quiroga, and handled the delicate papal affair of 1581-2 for him at the council. Pérez was a linguist, knowing Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, besides being well trained in law and theology. He was canon at Toledo from 1581 to 1585. Then Quiroga transferred him to the job of collecting money for church erection and repair until 1592, when he was appointed Bishop of Segorbe.

33. *Ibid.,* p. 132.

34. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folios 268b-269; see also Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo XVI,* p. 132. The official position of Loaysa was that of *procurador.*

35. *Ibid.*, folio 269, says that some of the proposals never reached print because of dissension.

36. Conde de Cedillo, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

37. Ambrosio de Morales, *La corónica general de España* (Córdoba: Gabriel Ramos Bejarano, 1586). II, folios 289, 289b.

38. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folio 269. See also González Dávila, *Teatro Eclesiástico,* p. 356.

39. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña,* II, p. 261. Edict of Cardinal Quiroga at Toledo, June 15, 1584.

40. González Dávila, *Teatro ecclesiástico,* p. 352. In the 1617 edition this page is erroneously numbered as page 340.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 353-5.

42. Ambrosio de Morales, *La corónica general de España,* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Iñiguez de Lequeríca, 1579), I folios 170b, 210b.

43. González Dávila, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

44. Martín Gamero, *Historia de la ciudad de Toledo,* pp. 981-982. The success was recognized near the end of the year 1583 when the court at Madrid gave cognizance to the spiritual effervescense which was displayed on this occasion.

45. Alvaro Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestus a Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio, Archiespiscopo Toletano* (Compluti: Andream de Angulo, 1569), folio 137. See also R. P. Merton, *Cardinal Ximenes and the making of Spain* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1934), pp. 65-66.

46. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña,* II, p. 460.

47. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folios 108-109.

48. Francisco de Pisa, *Historia de la gloriosa virgen y martyr Santa Leocadia patrona de Toledo* (Toledo: Diego Rodriguez, 1617), folio 11. See Appendix.

49. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folios 86-7.

50. Karl Felix Rachfahl, *Margaretha von Parma* (Leipzig: R. Oldenbourg, 1898), pp. 188ff.

51. Pisa, *Historia de Santa Leocadia,* folio 2.

52. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo XVI,* p. 121. Padre Hernández, a native of Mora de Toledo, was himself the author of an extensive work on the life, martyrdom, and movement of Santa Leocadia.

53. Pisa, *Historia de Santa Leocadia,* folios 12-13b.

54. *Ibid.*, folios 5-5b.

55. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el siglo XVI,* p. 121.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 146. Those who received prizes were as follows: Latin poets—Jacome Barbosa Arana, Hernando Bocarro, Felipe Ruiz, Pedro Pantin, Antonio Quintana Dueñas, Dr. de la Fuente, a maestro Martínez, Alonso Castellón, Francisco Calero, and Francisco Alvarez de la Higuera.

Greek poet—Dr. Antonio Calacina.

Castilian poets—Francisco Pesquera, Juan Rodríguez de Villamayor, Alonso Calderón, Fray Damián de Vega, and Juan Martínez.

See also "Memoria de los premios que se dieron a los poetas latinos y españoles que celebraron la entrada del cuerpo de la gloriosa Santa Leocadia," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos,* (Madrid, 1875), V, pp. 365f. Cf. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1874, folios 303-311, for the Latin epitaphs in honor of Santa Leocadia.

57. Garibay, "Memorias," in *Memorial histórico español,* VII, p. 450. Cf. "Memoria de las cosas que se han de advertir a su S.ª Illma. (Quiroga)," included in "Obras escogidas del P. Rivadeneira, *"Biblioteca de autores españoles.* (Madrid: Casa editorial, Hernando, 1927), LX, p. 591, describes the efforts to curb sins and other dissolute deeds, especially in the cathedral.

58. For a discussion of this attitude consult Américo Castro, "Juan de Mal Lara y su 'Filosofía vulgar,' *"Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid: Hernando, 1925), III, pp. 563-597. Another treatment appears in Federico Sánchez y Escribano's *Juan de Mal Lara: su vida y sus obras* (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1941), pp. 125-144.

59. C. S. P., *Venetian,* 1592-1603. Soranzo tells the Doge that in later years, in small matters, Quiroga became more parsimonious.

60. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folio 270b.

61. B.M., Eg.Ms. 1506, folios 80b. Two letters of Quiroga to Philip, 7 and 24 March, 1578, refer to the dignity of man and the glory of worthy progenitors.

62. Don Diego Ortíz de Zuñiga, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy leal ciudad de Sevilla* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1796), IV, p. 159, indicates that the symbol of inspiration to Spaniards was noble birth, illustrious lineage, and the high ecclesiastical office. For an interesting study of the result of such values, see Ameríco Castro, "Algunos observaciones acerca del concepto de honor en los siglos XVI, y XVII, *Revista de filosofía española,* III, 1916, pp. 1-50, 357-386.

63. Diego de Castejón y Fonesca, *Primacía de la santa iglesia de Toledo* (Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1645), II, pp. 1146-1151.

64. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez, apéndice* 82, pp. 900-901. Letter of Vázquez to Philip II, and Philip's marginal notes desiring improvement of morals, dated April 29, 1578.

65. *C. S. P., Venetian,* 1581-91, pp. 215-216.

66. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el siglo XVI,* pp. 130-2; see also *Concilium Tridentinum,* ed. Stephanus Ehses (Friburgi: B. Herder and Co., 1924), IX, p. 47, and Pisa, *Descripción,* folio 269.

67. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folios 269b-270.

68. González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico,* p. 490; Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña,* III, p. 459, lists this instrument, dated Dec. 24, 1583.

69. Ortíz de Zuñiga, *Anales eclesiástico,* p. 155.

70. González Dávila, *op. cit.,* p. 419.

71. *C. S. P., Venetian,* 1581-1591, p. 471; Tomas Contarini's report, Oct. 24, 1589.

72. *Ibid.,* pp. 224-227; 438-441; 639f.

73. Clara Louisa Penny, *Luis de Góngora y Argote* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1926), p. 2.

74. La Fuente, *Historia de las universidades,* II, pp. 230-231. The records begin in 1546, with 5150 students that year.

75. Pisa, *op. cit.,* p. 42.

76. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el siglo XVI,* pp. 147-148.

Chapter V

1. Elizabeth du Gue Trapier, *El Greco,* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1925), p. 79. Francisco Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura, su antiguedad y grandeza,* ed. G. Cruzada Villamil (2nd ed., Madrid: M. Galiano, 1866), II, pp. 159f., tells us that El Greco was a great philosopher, a master of witty sayings, and a writer on methods of painting, scultpure, and architecture. Trapier, pp. 24-27, questions that El Greco was ever an architect. Cf. Carlos Justi, "El Greco en Toledo," in *La España Moderna* (Madrid: López Hoyas, 1914), Nov., Año. 26, pp. 86-108. See appendix for the often-overlooked erudition of Dr. Francisco de Pisa. González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico,* p. 579, shows that a brilliant legal mind was Covarrubias' asset. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* folio 273, informs

us that the sickly García de Loaysa Xiron was sad and melancholy, but such a careful scholar that Quiroga and Philip II admired him. He is not to be confused with Don Fray García de Loaysa, the Dominican cardinal of Santa Susana. *C.D.I.*, XIV, pp. 1-284, gives information about this friar, an elder member of the same scholarly family.

2. Conde Cedillo, *op. cit.*, p. 146; see also *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos,* V, p. 365; B.M., Eg. Ms. 1874, folios 303-311.

3. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez,* I, figs. 14, 15, following p. 112, reproduces the formal portrait of Quiroga in his pontifical robes which exists in the Sala Capitular of the cathedral of Toledo, and the informal side view in the refuge of Santa Isabel at Toledo. See also *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada,* 48, p. 1434, for a reproduction of El Greco's Quiroga now in the London National Gallery. Trapier, *op. cit.*, p. 50, contrasts the portrait of Quiroga and that of the Duke of Benavente thusly: "The portrait supposed to be that of the Duke of Benavente in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, portrays him with black hair, pointed mustache, and olive complexion. A sinister glance from his dark eyes reminds one that the fires of the Inquisition were still burning. An interesting contrast to this repellent portrait is that of the benign old gentleman with the quizzical expression known as Cardinal Gaspar de Quiroga." Unknowingly, Trapier chose the "benign" man who held the inquisitor-generalship for the longest period in Spain's history to contrast against a duke who actually had nothing at all to do with the inquisition. Irresponsible statements of this sort are all too abundant. Cf. Julian Juderías y Loyot, *La Leyenda Negra y la verdad histórica* (Madrid: Tip. de la Rev. de Arch., Bibl., y Museos, 1914), pp. 17-34, discusses the causes of this unfavorable concept of Spain.

4. Trapier, *El Greco,* p. 81.

5. Cf. Werner Weisbach, *El barroco, arte de la contrarreforma,* trans. Enrique Lafuente Ferrari (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1942), pp. 30ff., for the tortured pictorial representations that appealed to Spain during the Catholic Reformation.

6. Cf. Acisclo Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica,* reprinted in part in Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español* (Madrid: Imprenta clásica españoles, 1936), IV, pp. 89-91, 143-148, for comments upon this definition by St. Augustine.

7. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, *Literary sources of art history* (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1947), pp. 458-459.

8. *Ibid.* At the Jesuit church in Toledo today there is another picture by El Greco, painted at the request of the Jesuit fathers, as a token of gratitude because the ground for their church was a legacy from Count Orgaz given to them in 1569. The Jesuit church was placed under the patronage of St. Ildefonso, because of an immemorial tradition that the Saint was born on that spot.

9. Hugo Ludwig Kehrer, *Die Kunst des Greco* (Munchen: H. Schmidt, 1914), p. 63.

10. Trapier, *El Greco,* p. 78.

11. Cf. Manuel Ramón Zarco del Valle, "Documentos inéditos para la historia de las bellas artes en España," in *C. D. I.*, LV, pp. 20ff; see additional listings in Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España* (Madrid: Ibarra, 1800), 6 vols.

12. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez,* I, p. 109, says the Cigarral exists today under the name of Mirabel.

13. Cf. Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura,* as quoted and commented upon by Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español* (Madrid: Imprenta clásica españoles, 1933), II, pp. 119-121, 159, 169, 179, 187, 189; see also Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España* (2nd ed.; Madrid: A. Pérez Dubrull, 1901), IV, pp. 81-94.

14. Pastor, *Popes,* XIX, p. 63, and references there.

15. William Harris Rule, *Brand of Dominic* (London: John Mason, 1852), p. 106, gives Quiroga's edict.

16. Pacheco, *El arte de la Pintura,* book III, chap. xi, extract in Holt, *Literary sources of art history,* pp. 447, n. 6.

Chapter VI

1. Reference is to Juan Antonio Llorente, *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne* (2d ed.; Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1818), 4 vols.

2. Alonso Junco, *Inquisición sobre la inquisición* (Santander: Cultura Española, 1938), pp. 93-96, shows that Llorente provided practically no documentary proof from 1534 to the end of the sixteenth century. Many of Llorente's statements were based upon calculations, with the phrase "porque sé" as his only proof.

3. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of Spain,* 4 vols.

4. Cf. Salvador de Madariaga, *Spain* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), pp. 41-42. See also Sir Charles Petrie, *Spain,* Vol. V of *Modern State Series,* ed. R. B. Mowat (London: Arrowsmith, 1934), p. 18. Baruch Braunstein, *The Chuetas of Majorca: Conversos and the Inquisition of Majorca* (Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, Scottsdale, 1936), Columbia University Oriental series, XXIX, pp. xi-xii, 1-40, makes statements which are documented by secondary works explaining situations relating to events as much as two centuries before or after the pertinent topic in the text.

5. To cite all the better known works dealing with the Inquisition would consume too much space. Among the more popular works, in addition to those already cited, are: C. G. Coulton, *The Inquisition* (New York: Smith and Cape, 1929), and Arthur Stanley Turbeville, *The Spanish Inquisition* (London: T. Butterworth, 1932), who both reflect the "impartial" protestant side in their interpretations. Abbé Vancandard, *The Inquisition,* trans. Bertrand L. Conway (New York: Longman, Green and Co., has no anti-Catholic bias in his scholarly but rather generalized study. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxes Español* (Madrid: Libreria Católica de San Jose, 1880), 3 vols., defends the Inquisition in many of its policies and should be read in conjunction with Lea, who leans slightly the other way.

6. Llorente, *Inquisition d'Espagne,* II, gives the wrong date of 1572 and has Quiroga holding a cardinalate five years before the fact. Cf. Mártir Rizo, *Historia de Cuenca,* p. 192, and González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico,* p. 489. (This latter page is misnumbered 490 in the 1617 edition.)

7. González Dávila, *op. cit.,* p. 490.

8. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1510, folios 270-272; a copy of Valdes' original Edict of Grace, 1555.

9. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1833, folio 56; Morisco petition of Xea, March 19, 1566.

10. B. M., Eg. Ms. 20915, folio 148; edict of the Inquisition.

11. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1833, folios 76-76b; report of Haedo.

12. *Ibid.,* folios 80, 86; Quiroga's marginal annotations.

13. *Ibid.,* folio 89; the Moriscos fear that if the Inquisition learns about them, they will be killed.

14. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1510, folio 262; Zurita's account to the Valencian kingdom, by order of Philip.

15. *Ibid.,* folios 262, 263b.

16. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1833, folio 3; Valencian Inquisition to Quiroga, February 20, 1574.

17. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1510, folio 260-261. This interesting document is not listed in the Gayangos catalogue. Matheo Vázquez, secretary of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, wrote it by direct order of Quiroga.

18. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1833, folios 63, 111-113; Eg. Ms. 1510, folios 212, 221-226, 235. The Moriscos along the entire eastern seaboard in Aragon sought it.

19. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1510, folio 213, a report of action taken for the Moriscos.

20. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1833, folio 115.

21. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1510, folios 258, 258b.

22. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1511, folio 49.

23. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1510, folios 213-214.

24. *Ibid.*, folio 206; Rojas to General Inquisition. Rojas was commissioned by Quiroga to supervise the erection of these Morisco churches in the bishopric of Segorbe.

25. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1510, folio 233; bishop of Segorbe to king, April 22, 1575.

26. *Ibid.*, folio 133b.

27. Cf. B. M., Eg. Ms., 1833, folio 113; Count of Fuentes to Quiroga, August 8, 1574, shows that the opposition was not unanimous. He informs Quiroga of the unfair tactics of this group.

28. B. M., Eg. Ms., 1510, folio 212; Morisco petitions of 23 July, 1574, citing support by noble landlords from many districts.

29. *Ibid.*, folios 235, 235b; letter of Quiroga to Aragonese Inquisition.

30. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1510, folio 105; inquisitors of Zaragoza to Quiroga, Dec. 7, 1573.

31. *Ibid.*, folio 219; letter of Duke of Albuquerque, viceroy of Aragon, discusses this privilege.

32. B. M., Eg. Ms., 1507, folio 63; letter of the *visitador* Morell to the Council of the Supreme Inquisition at Madrid, 30 August, 1576. The disgraced man's name, as scribbled by Morell, appears to be Gezeva.

33. B. M., Eg. Ms., 1510, folio 254.

34. *Ibid.*, folio 235; letter of Quiroga to the Aragonese Inquisition.

35. B. M., Eg. Ms., 1507, folio 52. This letter has been written by an Italian, most likely. He attempted to pen it in Spanish, but many Italian endings of nouns and verbs and such words as "molt" appear throughout. Cf. folio 50 for similar news.

36. Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition,* II, p. 392, states that the Spaniards feared the Huguenots who had left Béarn to establish themselves as merchants in Sarogossa, Huesca, Barbastro, and other cities.

37. B. M., Eg. Ms., folio 54; letter of Morell to the General Inquisition, sent February 26, 1575, and received in Madrid, March 9, 1575.

38. *Ibid.*, folios 48-52.

39. Cf. Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition,* II, pp. 394-395. The papal bull declared as heretics those who furnished Protestants with arms, ammunition, and horses.

40. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folios 27, 36.

41. *Ibid.*, folios 1, 1b; 2-4b; letters of Morell to Quiroga.

42. *Ibid.*, folios 9-11; memorial of the inhabitants of the valley of Andorra to Quiroga, in Catalan.

43. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1507, folio 56; report of the matters discussed by the inquisition at Zaragossa, Feb. 6, 1575. Llorente, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477, unexplainably gives the date for this event as 1568. He says they were shipped in wine barrels to fool the customs officials.

44. *Ibid.*, folio 56b.

45. *Ibid.*, folio 70.

46. *Ibid.*, folio 59. The inscription read: "Mali corni malum ouun."

47. *Ibid.*, folio 165. In 1590, the merchants of Béarn were excluded from circulating any money in Aragon.

48. *Ibid.*, folio 59.

49. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1507, folio 61; letter of Morell to the Council of the Inquisition.

50. B. M., Add. Ms. 28,351, folio 347; letter of Ovando to Quiroga, 21 March, 1578.

51. *C. S. P., Venetian,* 1558-80, p. 557; report of Lippomano to Signory, July 11, 1577.

52. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1507, folio 74; letter of Morell to General Inquisition.

53. *Ibid.*, folio 80; report of Don Mártin de Guzmán y Toledo, the captain-general of Roussillon, to the Aragonese Inquisition.

54. *Ibid.*, folio 84.

55. The Inquisition never used the term "Calvinists" and only seldom the word "Huguenots" in its correspondence. The word "Lutheran" was the popular term throughout the century for any Protestant heretic.

56. Cf. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1507, folio 86; inquisitors of Aragon to the General Inquisition.

57. *Ibid.*, folios 90-92.

58. B. M., Eg. 1832, folios 145b, 146; report of inquisitors of Zaragoza to the Council of the Inquisition.

59. B. M., Eg. 1506, folio 59b; Philip's memorial, cited by Quiroga.

60. B. M., Eg. 1832, folios 145-6; the Saragossan inquisitors say they first learned of this through confessions.

61. *Ibid.*, folios 145-145b, 263-264b, lists 56 Moriscos by name who were held by the Inquisition between August 14, 1579, and July 29, 1580, in Aragon.

62. *Ibid.*, folio 150; report of the Saragossan Inquisition to General Inquisition.

63. B. M., Add. Ms. 28357, folio 480; Mateo Vásquez to Quiroga, August 28, 1581.

64. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1510, folio 266; inquisitor Gasca Salazar to General Inquisition, July 29, 1580.

65. B. M., Eg. 1507, folio 110; petition of Gaspar Çaydejos to Inquisition.

66. *Ibid.*, folio 114; Council of General Inquisition to Quiroga, and the latter's marginal answers. The council at Madrid carried on this correspondence with Quiroga, who was then in Toledo, September 21, 1581.

67. Henri Léonardon, "Essai sur la politique francaise dans la question de la Succession de Portugal," in *École des Chartes, Positions des thèses,* 1889, pp. 40-43.

68. Philippson, *Granvelle,* p. 126, says that the Castilian nobles and cities displayed genuine patriotism and began to raise little armies and finance ships at their own expense.

69. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folios 98-98b. Gayangos gives no date for this document, but the year 1581 appears faintly on microfilm at the extreme top center in small handwriting.

70. *Ibid.* Cf. folio 59 for Quiroga's extension of the right to bear arms and make gunpowder.

71. B. M., Add. Ms. 28,357, folio 480; Mateo Vázquez to Quiroga, dated Lisbon, August 28, 1581, confirming these reports.

72. B. M., Add. Mss. 1506, folios 109, 111; two letters of the Count of Miranda in Barcelona to the king.

73. *Ibid.*, folios 108-108b; notes about the uprising and of certain Moriscos who took part in it.

74. Cf. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1832, folio 154; letter of Count of Chinchón to Quiroga, expressing concern over the gravity of the situation.

75. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1511, folio 105ff; proceedings of the junta.

76. *Ibid.*, folio 154, represents the last document relating to the junta that this author has been able to find. It is from the dean of Orihuela to the king, dated August 30, 1587, and discusses the educational scheme.

77. *Ibid.*, folios 106, 106b.

78. *Ibid.*, folio 107; Quiroga's proposals of June 26 and July 1.

79. *Actas de las Cortes*, XI, p. 542; ". . . crecen en tantos números, por ser gente que no va á la guerra, ni se meten en religion."

80. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1511, folios 107b-111b.

81. Cf. Mármol Carvajal, in *B. A. E.*, XXI, pp. 116-120, 342-363.

82. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1511, folio 132; patriarch-archbishop of Valencia to Philip, July 28, 1587.

83. *Ibid.*, folios 114ff.; letters of Philip to the archbishop of Valencia, dated June 28 and July 13, 1587.

84. *Ibid.*, folio 146; bishop of Segorbe (Don Feliciano de Figueroa) to king, July 30, 1587.

85. *Ibid.*, folio 148; dean and chaper of Orihuela to king, July 30, 1587.

86. *Ibid.*, folio 150; the mere acknowledgment of Quiroga's letters and nothing else, August 3, 1587.

87. *Ibid.*, folio 179. Only one minor official from Tortosa appeared for the meeting, according to the letter of the patriarch to the fiscal of the inquisition, Arenillas de Reynoso, dated March, 1588.

88. *Ibid.*, folio 168; Philip to patriarch, February 2, 1588, ordering the junta for the reformation of Morisco education to meet without further delay.

89. *Ibid.*, folios 183-186; replies of patriarch to king.

90. *Ibid.*, folios 183-185.

91. *Ibid.*, folio 181.

92. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 165; letter from "Leaders of Béarn to Don Juan de Gurrea, Governor of the kingdom of Aragon," in which they state their purpose and attempt to bribe him, dated June 20, 1590.

93. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1511, folio 191; letter of Count of Chinchón to Quiroga, January 31, 1593. Cf. Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition* II, p. 410, for the inquisitorial action at Lograno on November 11, 1593.

94. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folios 202-224; letter of Count of Chinchón, pressing for the increase in fortifications.

95. Pidal, *Philippe* II, *Antonio Pérez, et le royaume d'Aragon*, II, pp. 418-421.

96. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folios 197-198b.

97. *Ibid.*, folios 198-201b.

98. Pidal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 418-421.

99. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 210; letter of Quiroga to king, and king's marginal notes.

100. *Ibid.*, folio 217; General Inquisition to king, and his approval in bottom margin. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, IV, p. 598, says that Philip declared a general disarmament of all the Moriscos in the realm in February, 1594, and fails to give his source for this bit of information. If true, Philip almost immediately rescinded the order in the case of Aragon.

101. *Ibid.*, folio 222.

Chapter VII

1. Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, II, p. 200, was the first to denounce it.

2. Carl Bratli, *Philippe II, Roi d'Espagne*, p. 219, gives an extract of the pertinent portions of the instructions.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105, 191.
4. Merriman, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 499, and references there.
5. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 37, shows that they operated out of Seville and harbors in northwestern Spain.
6. *C. S. P., Spanish,* II, p. 491; report of Antonio de Guaras, Spanish ambassador in England, to Zayas.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 496.
8. *C. S. P., Venetian,* 1558-1580, p. 539; Hieronymo Lippomano to the Signory.
9. *C. S. P., Spanish,* II, p. 535 and note there.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 678. The case came up in 1576, and again in 1579, but all chances of recovery were gone.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 520; Guaras to Zayas, Feb. 1, 1576.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 419-420; letter of intelligence from Guaras to the Duke of Alva, governor in the Netherlands.
13. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 38b.
14. *Ibid.*, folio 39; Quiroga to king, May 3, 1576.
15. B. M., Eg. Mss. 1507, folios 120-121.
16. B. M., Eg. Mss. 1506, folios 38-38b.
17. *C. S. P., Venetian,* 1558-80, p. 558; report of Lippomano to Signory, 22 July, 1577, shows that Elizabeth's actions toward Spain were hostile. Cf. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire, IV,* p. 294, for a discussion of the seriousness of the English problem.
18. *C. S. P., Venetian,* 1558-1580; report of Alberto Badoer to Signory, Jan. 18, 1577.
19. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 55; letter of Quiroga to king, dated May 6, 1577.
20. *Ibid.*, folios 55-55b.
21. Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique,* (Brussels: M. Lamertin, 1907), IV, pp. 90f.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 91. See also John Robert Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), I, pp. 157ff; and Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1925), II, pp. 355-358.
23. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVI*e *et au XVII*e *Siècle,* p. 137; letter to Don John to Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, Quiroga's maritime inquisitor, dated July 28, 1478, reveals the admiration and friendship of Don John and the cardinal-archbishop. Cf. also the letters from Don John to Mendoza, pp. 120-121, 127, 135, for evidence of his close association with Quiroga.
24. *C. S. P., Venetian,* 1558-80, p. 565.
25. Cf. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 18b, letter of Quiroga to the king, dated March 16, 1574. Quiroga doesn't want to leave Cuenca to discuss matters of state in Flanders with the Council of State.
26. *Ibid.*, folios 44, 46-47, 50-50b, letters of Quiroga to the king, dated August 31, Sept. 30, and Oct. 3, 1576. He even planned Don John's itinerary from Spain to Flanders.
27. These two events have never been linked before, nor is it by any means conclusive that they were prearranged; but the identical program, sponsored on the same day by members of the old Ruy Gómez faction, indicates a prearrangement.
28. B. M., Add. Ms. 28262, folios 236-236b, letter to Philip, Feb. 12, 1577, signed by Pérez.
29. *C. S. P., Venetian,* 1558-80, pp. 556, 570; Badoer to Signory, Nov. 10, 1577, and March 9, 1578, from Madrid.

30. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folios 54b, 55, 61-62.

31. *C. D. I.*, VII, pp. 229-234. King Sebastian died fighting the Moors in North Africa on August 4, 1578, at Alcazar-el-Kebir.

32. Cf. Merriman, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 319.

33. B.M., Add. Mss. 28,403, 28,407, contain original material on the various efforts to arrange a marriage for Sebastian.

34. Julián Rubió, *Felipe II de España, rey de Portugal* (Santander: Cultura Española, 1939), p. 112.

35. B. M., Add. Ms. 1506, folio 89; Quiroga to king, dated Oct. 22. Cf. *C. D. I.*, XLI, pp. 383-386, for other legal and theological opinions favorable to Philip.

36. *Ibid.*, Quiroga to king, dated November 15, 1576.

37. Angela Valente, "Un Dramma politico alla corte de Filippe II," in the *Nuova Rivista Storica* (Milan, 1924), VIII, pp. 264-303, 416-442, maintains that a principal cause for the imprisonment of Antonio Pérez and of the Princess of Eboli, the widow of Ruy Gómez, was their conduct in connection with the affairs of Portugal. The Princess wished to marry her daughter to the son of the Duke of Braganza, a rival claimant to the Portuguese throne, and therefore revealed to the Duke the plans Philip had made in regard to Portugal, which had been communicated to her by Pérez.

38. *C. D. I.*, XXXII, pp. 15-17, the formal commission as captain-general, dated June 12, 1580, is printed in *C. D. I.*, XXXII, pp. 151-160. Cf. *C. D. I.*, VII, pp. 464-524, "Documentos sobre las causas que dieron motivo á la prision de D. Fadrique, hijo del Duque de Alba, y también á la del mismo Duque," for some of the causes of the Duke's past exile from court.

39. Pirenne, *Historie de Belgique*, IV, p. 123; cf. also the summary of the letter of Francisco Dorante, Don John's confessor, announcing John's death to the king, on pp. 129-133 of *Les bibliothèques de Madrid et de l'Escuriel: notices et extraits*, ed. Louis Prosper Gachard (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1875), in *Collection de Chroniques Belges.*

40. Antonio Pérez, *Obras y Relaciones* (Ginebra: Pietro Chouet, 1645), 320. Cf. B. M., Add. Mss. 28262, folios 659, 659b, for opposition of the Marqués to Philip's preparations, and Philip's marginal reply.

41. Charles F. Piot, ed., *Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle, 1565-1586* (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1884), VII, pp. 276, 352.

42. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 90; letter of Quiroga to king, November 4, 1578.

43. Merriman, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 329.

44. *C. D. I.*, VII, p. 336.

45. B. M. Add. Ms. 28,357, folio 379; letter to Philip to Quiroga.

46. *C. S. P., Venetian*, 1581-1591, p. 165; Vincenzo Gradeniga to Doge, dated May 19, 1586, at Madrid.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 339; Lippomano to Doge and Senate, Feb. 13, 1588.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 410; Lippomano to Doge and Senate, Nov. 1, 1588. See also Danvila, *El poder civil en España*, V, p. 578.

49. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo XVI*, p. 123.

50. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, III, p. 459. Lea, *History of the Inquisition in Spain*, IV, p. 494, tells of a report that Cardinal Quiroga, while archbishop of Toledo from 1577 to 1594, gave Philip II an aggregate of a million and a half ducats.

Chapter VIII

1. Ernst Schäfer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des spanischen Protestantismus und der Inquisition im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902), I, pp. 208-232.

2. Lea, *The Inquisition of Spain,* III, pp. 437-442.

3. *C. D. I., XI,* p. 277. Juan de Guevara describes this situation on a personal scale. For a generalized example, Dominicans versus Jeronymites, see *Ibid.,* X, pp. 559-560. Cf. Dominican-Jesuit animosity in Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* IV, p. 63.

4. Luis G. Alonso Getino, *Vida y procesos del Mastro Fray Luis de León* (Salamanca, 1907), pp. 266-268. An excellent description of a professorial election is presented here.

5. Cf. Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, *Causa criminal contra el biblista Alonso Gudiel, catedrático de la Universidad de Osuna* (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciónes cientificas, 1942), pp. 3-4. Hereafter referred to as Pinta Llorente, *Gudiel.*

6. *Ibid.,* p. 14.

7. *C. D. I.,* XLI, p. 272, letter of Zayas, the king's secretary, in Madrid, April, 1572.

8. Cf. Bell, *Luis de León,* pp. 136-137; 151-154; 179-180. See also *C. D. I.,* X, pp. 145-146; 357-358. Many of the accusers had been defeated in professorial elections by those accused or had clashed in frequent debates with them.

9. Pinta Llorente, *Gudiel,* p. 13.

10. *Ibid.,* p. 63.

11. *Ibid.,* pp. 90-91. Vivero supplied manuscripts circulated by Gudiel which supposedly contained heretical utterances. Among the friars in the orders it was common to give papers to one another and thus learn what occurred in theological disputations in other parts of Castile, whether published or not. Cf. *Ibid.,* p. 11.

12. *Ibid.,* p. 18.

13. *Ibid.,* p. 19 and note 1, which quotes the original *proceso* of Gudiel, folio 148 v.

14. *Ibid.,* p. 143 and note, quoting folio 153 of the original *proceso.*

15. *Ibid.,* p. 37; letter of November 19, 1572.

16. *Ibid.,* pp. 22-23.

17. *Ibid.,* p. 205, note quoting letter of Salinas, folio 182b of the original *proceso;* see also page 206, folio 188, for the edict of the inquisitors.

18. Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, *Proceso inquisitorial contra el maestro Gaspar de Grajal* (Madrid: Consejo de investigaciónes cientificas, 1935), pp. 14ff.

19. Pinta Llorente, *Gudiel,* p. 11. Cf. *C. D. I.,* X, p. 146; León de Castro attempted to raise the question of Jewish lineage in the cases of the defendants but it became only an irrelevant side issue.

20. *C. D. I.,* XI, p. 348.

21. *C. D. I.,* X, p. 32.

22. *Ibid.,* pp. 369-370, 32. See also *Ibid.,* pp. 366-368, where Luis de León described Montoya as an enemy notorious for his untruthfulness: ". . . entre nosotros es este conocido por hombre que si no es pro descuido, jamás dice verdad."

23. *C. D. I.,* XI, pp., 253-347, reveals over seventy witnesses for Luis de León and included many Augustinians. Some listed are Juan de Guevara, Diego López, Pedro Juárez, Francisco de Diego de Carvajal, Diego de Tapia, Baltasar del Castillo, Juan de Castro, Hernando de Zárate, Hernando de Peralta, Juan de Sotomayor, Juan de Velasco, Vincente de Quintañilla, Fray Antonio de Quevedo, Don Pedro Portocarrero, Cristóbal de Madrigal (a professor of Hebrew). Juan Domingo Florencio (León de Castro's secretary), Francisco Sánchez, Francisco de Salinas, Grajal, Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra, and Don Pedro Guerrero. Also, the lector of the Jesuits, Francisco Sancho, and the Salamanca publishers, Gaspar de Portonariis and Matías Gast, supported him with their testimony.

24. *C. D. I.*, XI, pp. 50-51.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13. See also on page 37 a letter from the Suprema dated Nov. 4, 1574, in which they further comply with León's wishes concerning the appointments of his advisors.

26. *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 52-53; letter to Valladolid Inquisition. Bell, *Luis de León*, p. 160, incorrectly says Luis de León wasn't acquitted until after Quiroga became Archbishop of Toledo.

27. *C. D. I.*, XI, pp. 351-353.

28. Cf. Pinta Llorente, *Gudiel*, pp. 240-256.

29. *C. D. I.*, XI, pp. 353-358.

30. Bell, *Luis de León*, p. 159. Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, I, p. 433, misrepresents the disposition of the case of Cantalapiedra.

31. Bonilla y San Martín, *Luis Vives y la filosofía del renacimiento*, I, p. 17, gives the quotation.

32. Francisco Sánchez, El Brocense, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Gregorio Mayans y Siscar (Genevae: 1766), II, p. 177, speaks of this learned group of intimate friend in the following terms: "Constituerant viri quidam doctissimi mihique amicissimi ut quam correctissima Virgilii opera excuderenter." Also, *C. D. I.*, XI, p. 302; X, p. 326, and Nicholás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana nova*, eds. T. A. Sánchez and others (2nd ed.; Madrid, 1783), I, p. 473, offer additional evidence for the camaraderie of this group.

33. *C. D. I.*, XLI, pp. 316-329; Marcial Solana, *Historia de la Filosofía Española*, (Madrid: Real Academia de Ciencias, 1941), II, p. 350, shows that Quiroga personally called Montana to help him in the provincial council of Toledo, Sept. 1582.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-89: the Index of Zapata, 1632, placed his biblical commentaries on the expurgatory list.

35. Fray Francisco Blanco García, "Segundo Proceso Instruídor por la Inquisición de Valladolid Contra Fr. Luis de León," in *La Ciudad de Dios*, vol. XLI, September 20, 1896, p. 40.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

39. Lea, *Inquisition of Spain*, IV, p. 162, speaking of the two cases of Luis de León, says: "The Inquisition abused its powers, either, in one case, by unpardonable severity, or in the other by excessive moderation." Lea fails to realize that the Inquisition could ever act as anything but an inscrutable, unchanging institution. It was capable of reflecting the benevolence of a man like Quiroga.

40. Antonio Tovar and Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, *Procesos inquisitoriales contra Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas* (Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1941), p. xlvii. Cf. Marcelino Gutiérrez, "Fray Diego de Zúñiga," in *Obras Completas* (Escorial: 1929), pp. 52ff., for the queston of Copernicus in Spain.

41. *Ibid.*, p. ix. El Brocense was a grammarian who placed great emphasis upon the idea that each word had its reason for being. He opposed Aristotelian empiricism in favor of the Platonic conception in the *Cratilo:* "Non igitur dubium est, quin rerum omnium, etiam uocum reddenda sit ratió."

42. *C. D. I.*, II, pp. 48-49. Cf. Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Ioannis Genesii Sepulvedae De regno* (Ilerdae: P. Robles, 1570), pp. 97-99, who said of Aristotle: "Cuius doctrina in civili omnique morali facultate aut nihil perparum differt a Christiana philosophia."

43. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. xv-xvi. El Brocense wrote: "Aristotles cum Platoni non pugnat, modo recte intelligatur:" This statement shows the trends in philosophy

initiated by Bishop Páez de Castro and developed by Fox Morcillo in his work *De naturae philosophia seu de Platonis et Aristotelis consensione,* published in 1554. Cf. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, "Filosofía platónica en España," in *Ensayos de crítica filosófica,* Vol. IX of *Obras Completas* (Madrid: V. Suárez, 1918), p. 90. See also *La Ciencia Española* (3rd. ed.; Madrid: A. Pérez Dubrull, 1887), I, pp. 221-241, for secondary studies of this topic.

45. *C. D. I.,* II, pp. 48-49.

46. Aubrey Fitzgerald-Bell, *Francisco Sánchez el Brocense* (Oxford University Press, 1925), pp. 30-31, builds up the case for the friendship of Sánchez and Portocarrero. In 1579 Sánchez had dedicated his *Sphaera Mundi* to Portocarrero, proclaiming the latter was his friend of many years standing.

47. Tovar and Pinta Llorente, *Procesos Inquisitoriales contra Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas,* p. 36.

48. Pinta Llorente, *Gudiel,* p. 237; letter to Valladolid Inquisition.

49. *Ibid.,* pp. 240ff.

50. *Ibid.,* pp. 253-255.

51. *Ibid.,* p. 237; this resolution appears in the margin of the letter sent to the Valladolid Inquisition, June 2, 1584, ordering the case reoponed.

52. Blanco García, "Segundo proceso contra Fray Luis de León, "*La Ciudad de Dios,* XLI (1896), pp. 15-31.

53. Kardinal De Jong, *Handbook der Kerkgeschiedenis* (Utrecht-Nijmegen, 1948), III, pp. 258-260, gives a clear cut discussion of the core of the Baian controversy.

54. Cf. B. M., Mss. 1507, folios 120-121. See also Pastor, *Popes,* XIX, pp. 314-319.

55. Pastor, *Popes,* XIX, p. 316.

56. *Ibid.,* pp. 318-319.

57. Pastor, *Popes,* XIX, pp. 319-321.

58. Putnam, *The censorship of the church of Rome,* I, p. 195. Archivo de Simancas, *Inquisición,* Libro 940, folio 4; Libro 942, folio 25, are the *cartas acordadas* establishing this principle of authority.

59. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of Spain,* III, p. 493.

60. Archivo de Simancas, *Inquisición,* Libro 82, folio 76; Libro 940, folio 5.

61. *Ibid.,* Libro 940, folios 6-7.

62. *Ibid.,* folio 18.

63. Cf. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña,* I, p. 87; the opening sentence of the edict of Quiroga reveals the problem confronting the framers of the Index because of the recent variety of heretical utterances.

64. *Ibid.* The title page of the 1583 Index reads as follows: "Index et Catalogus Librorum prohibitorum, mandato Illustriss. ac-Reverendiss. D. D. Gasparis a Quiroga. Cardinalis Archiepiscopi Toletani, ac in regnis Hispaniarum Generalis Inquisitoris, denuo editus. Cum Consilio Supremi Senatus Sanctae Generalis Inquisitionis (E. de a. del Cardenal Quiroga), Madriti Apud Alphonsum Gomezium, Regium Typographum, Anno M. D. LXXXIII." Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition,* I, p. 479, says the Prohibitory Index was published in 1582. Clearly, he is mistaken.

65. *Ibid.,* pp. 87-88. Cf. Putnam, *Censorship of the Church of Rome,* I, p. 236.

66. Putnam, *op. cit.,* p. 237.

67. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña,* I, p. 87.

68. *Ibid.,* p. 91; *Index et Catalogus Librorum Prohibitorum* (Madrid: Alphonsum Gomezium, 1584).

69. Putnam, *op. cit.,* p. 340. Marcel Bataillon, *Érasme et l'Espagne* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1937), p. 767, says that Quiroga's Index was stricter than San-

doval's Index of 1612 on Erasmus. Whereas Sandoval permitted Cano to expurgate *l'Ecclesiastes, l'Exomologesis, l'Enchiridion, l'Expositio symboli,* Quiroga's Index prohibited them completely. For a good general background of the Erasmian influence in Spain, see also A. Bonilla y San Martín, *"Erasmo en España* (episodio de la historia del Renacimiento)," *Revue Hispanique,* XVII (1907), pp. 379-548.

70. Lea, *Inquisition of Spain,* III, p. 494.

71. Archivo de Simancas, *Inquisición,* Libro 941, folio 9.

72. *Ibid.,* Libro 939, folio 127; Libro 940, folios 16, 17.

73. Archivo de Simancas, *Inquisición,* Libro 940, folio 8.

74. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña,* III, pp. 440-441; consulta of Don Andres Pacheco to Philip III, dated November, 1623.

Chapter IX

1. Lea, *Inquisition of Spain,* II, p. 49.

2. Cf. Merriman, *op. cit.,* IV, p. 480; Valdés personally hated Carranza, and also hoped to rebuild his own prestige.

3. Lea, *op. cit.,* p. 78, and note there.

4. *C. D. I., V,* p. 4801, shows that Valdés was perfectly willing to find an excuse to dodge the episcopal jurisdiction the pope might attempt to claim in this case.

5. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterodoxes Españoles,* II, p. 405. Albéri, *Relazioni,* serie i, V, p. 144; Antonio Tiepoli says no other pope but Pius could have carried his point. Valdés had to resign because Phillip did not want to break with the pope at this time.

6. *C. D. I.,* LXVIII, pp. 460-2; on August 12, 1571, Pius, in an autographed letter, tried to put an end to these interruptions with a sharp warning to Philip.

7. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 22; consulta to king.

8. *C. D. I.,* LXXVIII, pp. 465-471; B. M., Eg. Ms. 443, folios 98-99.

9. Lea, *Inquisition of Spain,* II, pp. 82-83. Whether Carranza was actually guilty of heretical writings or not remains a topic of discussion for scholars. The documents of the trial of Carranza, covering some 40,000 pages, are preserved in 22 folio volumes in the library of the Real Acadamia de la Historia, and even from these there is one volume missing. Only Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition,* III, pp. 157-211, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles,* II, pp. 359-415, have based their accounts upon these original sources. Lea did not have access to them, but used sources of contemporary accounts outside of the inquisitorial records which the former two did not use. Llorente defended the accused, and Menéndez y Pelayo defended the Holy Office. Lea feels that there may have been slight grounds for a charge.

10. *Ibid.,* pp. 46ff; see also Tuberville, *The Spanish Inquisition,* pp. 60-65.

11. Merriman, *op. cit.,* IV, p. 481.

12. Cf. Lea, *Inquisition of Spain,* II, p. 85, who makes the same observation, and justly so.

13. Pedro de Salazar y de Mendoza, *Vida y Sucesos prósperos y adversos de D. Fr. Bartolomé de Carranza y Miranda* (Madrid: Valladares, 1788); this biography was not printed until the year indicated, and under the above title.

14. Lea, *Inquisition of Spain,* II, p. 49.

15. Pisa, *Descripción de Toledo,* p. 67. Lea, *op. cit.,* p. 85, places the action in June; cf. Conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el Siglo XVI,* p. 129, n. 108, who consults the cathedral archives and places the date in July.

16. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 68; Quiroga to king, dated Sept. 23, 1577. The king's usual marginal answer is missing.

17. Cf. *C. S. P., Foreign,* 1566-68, no. 2109, for a discussion on the supposed subjection of Philip to the Inquisition.

18. Lea, *Inquisition of Spain,* II, pp. 129-131.

19. For a discussion of the independent Inquisition set up by Spain, see: Lea, *op. cit.,* I, pp. 172ff.; Madariaga, *Spain,* pp. 41ff.; Turberville, *The Spanish Inquisition,* pp. 22, 52ff. Braunstein, *The Chuetas of Majorca,* pp. 2-40, tries to modify this independent theory, but others do not agree with him. For example, Lord Acton, "Correspondence" in *English Historical Review,* (June, 1888), p. 555, believed as follows: ". . . the later (Spanish) Inquisition . . . is not so much a prolongation or a revival as a new creation." González Dávila, *Teatro Eclesiástico,* folio 40, gives the view of sixteenth century Spain upon the subject by stating definitely that it was procured by the Catholic monarchs on the authority of Sixtus IV.

20. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1507, folio 48; letter of the viceroy of Catalonia to Quiroga, dated 1575.

21. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 27; letter of Quiroga to the king, May 3, 1576.

22. *Ibid.,* folio 27b.

23. *Ibid.,* folio 22; letter of Quiroga to the king, March 17, 1574.

24. *Ibid.,* folios 63-64b; letter of Quiroga to king, with king's marginal approval.

25. B. M., Add. Ms. 28,358, folios 44, 44b, 45b.

26. Cf. Lea, *Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies,* p. 180. The tribunal of the Canaries was considered among those of Castile and subject to orders of the Sevillan office, even though its insular position and the consequent attraction of foreign merchants and seafaring men rendered its career somewhat peculiar.

27. B. M., Add. Ms. 28,358, folios 45-46b; Royal Council of Castile to king.

28. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folios 99-105b; 99-103; consulta of General Inquisition to king, dated September 13, 1583, and reply of Philip to Quiroga and the General Inquisition, dated 1583.

29. *Ibid.,* folio 104.

30. *Ibid.,* folios 99-105b.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Felipe Segundo,* I, p. 280.

33. Ranke, *Spanische Monarchie,* p. 314.

34. Cf. Lea, *Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies,* pp. 27-34.

35. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folios 71, 71b; letter of General Inquisition to Philip, 1577.

36. *Ibid.,* folios 48-49; consulta of Quiroga to Philip, October 19, 1576.

37. *Ibid.,* folios 54, 54b; Quiroga informs the king that the bishop of Pati has served him well in the visitation, and should have a bishopric in Castile.

38. *Ibid.,* folios 58, 58b, 71.

39. B. M., Eg. Ms., 1506, folio 71; ". . . el inquisidor general, desseando mucho la conformidad y buena correspondencia entre el Visso Rey y ministros del sancto officio y escusar las pesadumbres que a V. M. se dan, A Scrypto al dho Marco Antonio con mucha benevolencia."

40. Lea, *Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies,* pp. 33-34, apparently accepts these figures, as does Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Monarchy,* IV, p. 469. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 72, is a report of the General Inquisition to Philip, and the number of familiars is officially listed as 1,223 in the kingdom of Sicily in 1577. The entire population of the island is only 220,000.

41. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folios 72-73; Quiroga's report to the king.

42. *Ibid.,* folio 87; letter of Quiroga to king, Sept. 12, 1578.

43. *Ibid.,* folio 163.

44. Cf. *Ibid.*, folios 174-176b; this document lists twenty instances in which members of the Inquisition had been defamed by viceroys and royal officials of Sicily from 1533 to 1584.

45. Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 320. Cf. B. M. Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 143; this board actually limited the inquisitorial authority because the familiars were placed under the board rather than under the sole jurisdiction of the Inquisition as in other areas.

46. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folios 113-117; *consulta* of General Inquisition to king, March 20, 1584, and king's marginal comments on folio 113. The escaped heretic, Octavio de Pisa, was a servant of Pompeo Colonna, the brother of Marco Antonio Colonna.

47. *Ibid.*, folios 123, 129; report of Inquisition to Philip, 1586.

48. *Ibid.*, folios 133, 133b, 150, 156-159, 223-225.

49. *Ibid.*, folio 156; *consulta* of Inquisition to king, and king's marginal note. Philip agrees to let the cardinal of Toledo, Gaspar de Quiroga, appoint the two inquisitors, Don Juan de Zúñiga and Dr. Juan Alvarez de Çaldas, to the board along with two members from the Council of Italy, the regents Saladino and Cadeña.

50. Cf. *Ibid.*, folios 156-159; the Ferrante case of October, 1859, was the trial case. See also, *Ibid.*, folios 163, 163b, for additional proof.

51. *Ibid.*, folios 158-159; letter of the *junta* (board) to Philip II, and Philip's marginal reply on folio 159. The statement of Merriman, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 469, that ". . . the Inquisition . . . won here for its officials immunities far beyond those which were permitted in Spain herself" is perhaps too strongly stated in the light of documentary evidence, although no doubt the Inquisition, with Quiroga's collaboration in the Council of Italy, could bring terrific pressure to bear if desired.

52. *Ibid.*, folios 223-225, 226, 229, 232.

53. *Ibid.*, folios 57-58b; letter of Quiroga to king, June 1, 1577. Those recommended were the Augustinian friars, Ribera and Lorenzo de Villavicencio, the latter for the archibishopric of Naples.

54. B. M., Add. Ms. 28,262, folio 575; order written by Antonio Pérez, Philip's secretary, to Quiroga, conveying the King's desire.

55. *Ibid.*, folio 402. Cf. Also Eg. Ms. 1506, folios 69-70; Quiroga to king, January 8, 1578, for an expression of the importance Quiroga attached to this tax.

56. B. M. Add. Ms. 28,358, folio 101; Philip's recommendation of Salazar to Quiroga, June 17, 1582.

57. Cf. H. C. Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1908), pp. 86ff, 125ff.

58. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 16b; letter of Quiroga to king, March 8, 1574.

59. B. M., Eg. Ms. 444, folios 20-29; twelve principal subjects of Spanish embarrassment are enumerated here, and discussed.

60. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 18b; Quiroga to king, March 16, 1574.

61. B. M., Eg. Ms. 444, folios 29b-34. This highly significant document was discovered among the Egerton papers. Gayangos does not list it.

62. Pastor, *Popes*, XIX, pp. 366f, and references there.

63. Braunstein, *The Chuetas of Majorca*, xi, says that the Inquisition in Spain ". . . held itself aloof from the Papacy." Nothing could be further from the truth. The Spanish Inquisition and its inquisitor general were constantly in correspondence with the papacy on matters of delegation for powers and jurisdiction, using the Spanish ambassador at Rome as emissary. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, I, pp. 158-159, is more exact when he says that the papacy exercised less and less influence over the Spanish Inquisition with the passing of years.

64. Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition,* II, p. 503, Cf. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of Spain,* II, p. 130.

65. *Ibid.,* pp. 414-415.

66. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of Spain,* II, pp. 129-130.

67. Pastor, *Popes,* XIX, p. 134.

68. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1507, folio 149; letter of Quiroga to the inquisitors of Murcia. Quiroga's statements in this document refute the statements of Von Pastor, who makes his assertions without his usual documentary citation.

69. See B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 102, for the reaction of the Inquisition to the papal interference in relation to the case, in a letter to Philip dated September 19, 1583.

70. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of Spain,* II, p. 130.

71. Ricardo de Hinojosa, *Los despachos de la diplomacia Pontificia en España* (Dubrull, 1896), I, pp. 252-254, 358.

72. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of Spain,* II, pp. 130-131.

73. Paul Herre, *Papsthum und Paptwahl im Zeitaltar Philipps II* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner), pp. 363f. This is an excellent secondary study of the attitude and conduct of Philip II and his representatives at Rome in regard to the different conclaves. His general conclusion upholds the statements made in the text.

74. Cf. Brucker, *La Compagnie de Jesús,* pp. 194-196. Sixtus V drew a papal command requiring the Society to drop the name of Jesus, but upon his death Gregory XIV reversed his policy and confirmed the Society in its name and privileges.

75. *Ibid.,* pp. 193-200.

76. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 47.

77. *Ibid.,* folio 67; request of Quiroga to Philip, dated September 23, 1577.

78. B. M., Eg. Ms. 452, folios 23b-24; letter of Rivadeneira to Padre Dionisio Vázquez.

79. *Ibid.,* folio 24, gives the number as four, and the author, Rivadeneira, undoubtedly was in a position to know.

80. Pastor, *Popes,* XXI, p. 158.

81. Merriman, *op. cit.,* IV, p. 64.

82. Antonio Astraín, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1902), III, pp. 391-392; letter of Aquaviva to the pope.

83. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of Spain,* II, p. 131, quotes Paramo, whose experience as inquisitor in Sicily caused him to say that since Innocent VIII decreed that appeals should be heard by the inquisitor-general, no pope had permitted cases to be carried to the Apostolic See. Zurita, *Anales de Aragón,* VI, in Libro XX, cap. xlix, who as secretary of the Suprema unquestionably was in a position to know, said that while theoretical jurisdiction was admitted, such was not the legal practice.

84. Astraín, *op. cit.,* p. 393; Speciani to Rusticucci, June 3, 1587.

85. Pastor, *Popes,* XXI, pp. 158-159.

86. Astraín, *op. cit.,* p. 394, publishes the autographed decree of Philip II.

87. *Ibid.*

88. Pastor, *Popes,* XXI, pp. 160-161, claims the Inquisition certainly exceeded its authority here, and got away with it. Disregarding his papal bias, one must judge that he was unaware of the authority actually held by the Inquisition.

89. Astraín, pp. 396-402.

90. *Ibid.,* p. 398.

91. *Ibid.,* p. 396.

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 402-420.
93. *Ibid.*, pp. 382, 386, 407. Leopold von Ranke, *Die römischen Päpste in den letzten vier jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1874), II, pp. 186ff, more correctly presents the case of these reformers than does Pastor, *Popes*, p. 162, who sees no good in the Spanish Jesuit reformers.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 409.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 429.
96. B. M., Eg. Ms. 452, folio 23b; letter of Rivadeneira to Vázquez.
97. Astraín, *Historia de la Compania de Jesús*, III, pp. 430-432.
98. *Revista de España* (1876), L, pp. 434f.
99. Astraín, *op. cit.*, III, p. 436.
100. *Ibid.*, pp. 437-440.
101. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 41; letter of Francisco de Abreo to Don Francisco Dávila of the Council of the Inquisition at Madrid.
102. Astraín, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, III, p. 442.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 448. Both Chaves and Orellano were adversaries of the Jesuits.
104. *Ibid.*, pp. 452, 476.
105. Pastor, *Popes*, XXI, p. 179.
106. *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 412; Herre, *op. cit.*, pp. 395, 415.
107. Astraín, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 505-510.
108. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 177; consulta of Quiroga to king, dated Madrid, October 3, 1591.
109. *Ibid.*, folios 178-178b.
110. *Ibid.*, folio 210; letter of Quiroga concerning the Company of Jesus.

Chapter X

1. Cf. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, IV, pp. 369ff. See also the study of Gaspar Muro, *Vida de la Princesa de Éboli* (Madrid: M. Murillo, 1877), pp. 97ff.
2. Antonio Pérez, p. 320, says: ". . . así como 4000 ducados de renta, gracias a la gestión y a la garantía del Arzobispo de Toledo y de otro personaje grande." In the "Cargos y sentencia del proceso de Visita contra Antonio Pérez," in Marañón, *Antonio Pérez, II, apéndice* VII, p. 781, additional sums given to Pérez by Quiroga are listed by Tomas Salazar.
3. Marañón, *op. cit.*, II, *apéndice* 38, p. 858; appendix 40, B. p. 860; letters of Pérez to Quiroga and the Duke of Villahermosa.
4. *Ibid.*, *apéndice* 87, II, pp. 905-906; letter of Jerónimo Valles to the Duke of Villahermosa, Don Martín de Aragon.
5. *Ibid.*, *apéndice* 41, II, pp. 861-862; letter of Pérez to Philip telling of Quiroga's information.
6. François Mignet, *Antonio Pérez et Philippe* II (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1845), I, pp. 78-80.
7. Cf. Henri Forneron, *Histoire de Philippe II* (2nd ed.; Paris: E. Plon et Cie., 1882), III, pp. 62f, 78, 263; IV, pp. 163f. Vázquez de Arce was just coming into prominence at the time of Pérez' fall. He became president of the Council of Castile in 1591, and held the office until the reign of Philip III. He is not to be confused with Mateo Vázquez de Leca, who was then an even greater enemy of Pérez; they were not even related.
8. Marañón, *op. cit.*, *apéndice* 92, II, p. 914; letter of Quiroga to Pérez, June 28, 1584, from Toledo.
9. Cf. *"Fragmentos del Archivo Particular de Antonio Pérez,"* ed. Angel González Palencia, *B. A. E.* (Madrid, 1918), XXXVIII, pp. 262ff.

10. Mignet, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-86.

11. Pérez, *Relaciones*, pp. 56-58. Pérez says he took sanctuary upon the approval of Quiroga. In view of the prelate's protest against the subsequent violation, it is quite probable that such was the case.

12. Cf. Marañón, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

13. Extract of *Proceso que se fulminó cóntra Antonio Pérez, secretario de Estado del rey don Philippe secundo y del despacho universal, y por su mandado sobre la muerte de Pérez et Philippe II*, published in Mignet's *Antonio Pérez et Philippe II*, p. 88, note 4.

14. Pérez, *Relaciones*, p. 77. "O yo soy loco, o este negocio es loco . . .," Quiroga to Chaves, letter undated, 1589.

15. *C. D. I.*, V, p. 137.

16. Pérez, *Relaciones*, p. 74. ". . . que condenarse en un caso tan grave, era contra su consciencia y más siendo en dano de tantos innocentes, y que declarar lo que su rey le mandava callar no sería sano consejo . . .; y que para todo sería mejorque él se concertasse con la familia de Escovedo."

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 74ff.

18. Cf. Forneron, *op. cit.*, pp. 133f.

19. Mignet, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108; Pérez, *Relaciones*, pp. 82-83.

20. Merriman, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 577.

21. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez*, p. 114, quotes the letter from Pérez to his wife during his days of torment in 1590, in which Pérez told her that a certain mission of confidence should be entrusted to "Don Gaspar y el Guradian de San Francisco." Without explanation Marañón says the "Don Gaspar" should have been "Don Baltasar Alamos de Barrientos." This is hardly plausible; when Pérez referred to Barrientos, he used his full name. Cf.. Pérez, *Relaciones*, p. 87.

22. Mignet, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119, and extracts of the trial records quoted in the notes.

23. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, IV, p. 580.

24. Pérez, *Relaciones*, p. 89.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 265-280.

26. Pidal, *Philippe II, Antonio Pérez, et le royaume d'Aragon*, I, pp. 228ff. Mignet, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-243.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245.

30. *C. D. I.*, XII, pp. 22-24; Forneron, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

31. Cf. *C. D. I.*, XV, p. 421.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 440-441.

33. Albéri, *Relazioni*, serie i, V, p. 402; report of Contarini shows that contemporaries realized the charge of heresy was nothing but a pretext.

34. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 129; Pidal, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 276-283.

35. Marañón, *op. cit.*, I, p. 112.

36. Mignet, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-145.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 148. Marañón, *op. cit.*, p. 528, published the signed edict of arrest.

38. Cf. Pidal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 150ff.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 185. The order was extended to include the original leaders of the insurrection.

40. Marañón, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 120, ". . . nuestro Inquisidor . . ."

42. *C D. I.*, XII, p. 281; "Declaracion de Lazaro Corilla," August, 1591. *Ibid.*, p. 316; "Declaracion de Urban de la Serna," undated.

43. Marañón, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
44. *C. D. I.*, XII, p. 543.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 324; "Declaracion de Antón de Añón," August 19, 1951.
46. Marañón, p. 120.
47. Cf. Pidal, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-97, 364-371.
48. *C. D. I.*, XII, p. 391.
49. Pérez, *Relaciones*, p. 131.
50. Cf. Marañón, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
51. Mignet, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-214.
52. Marañón, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121.

Chapter XI

1. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez*, p. 923.
2. B. M., Eg. Ms. 1506, folio 195, letter of Morejón to Quiroga, October 31, 1592.
3. *Ibid.*, folios 181, 181b, 184, are additional reports of Morejón on the same topic.
4. *Ibid.*, folio 180; report of Quiroga and Suprema to Philip, October 31, 1592.
5. *Ibid.*, folios 187ff.
6. Baltasar Porreño, *Dichos y Hechos del rey D. Felipe II* (Madrid: Editorial Saeta, 1942), p. 135.
7. Pastor, *Popes*, XXIII, p. 395.
8. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez*, I, p. 109. See also Pisa, *Descripción*, folio 270b.
9. González Dávila, *op. cit.*, p. 488.
10. Marañón, *Antonio Pérez*, I, p. 109.
11. A *fanega* is the Spanish bushel, somewhat equivalent to the English bushel or hundredweight.
12. González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico*, p. 491.
13. B. M., Eg. Ms. 443, folios 111-113, records the attempts of an ecclesiastic who called himself Nicholás Saco de Quiroga to obtain a pension for life from these funds.
14. Pisa, *Descripción*, folio 270b.
15. Castejón y Fonseca, *Primacía de la santa iglesia de Toledo*, II, p. 1146-1151.

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